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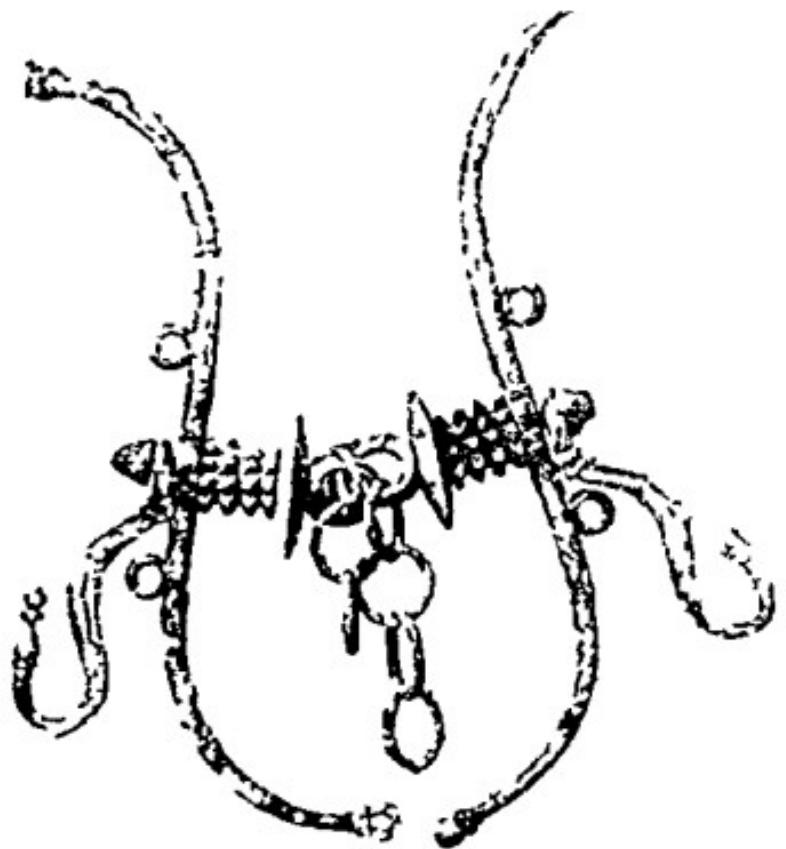
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XENOPHON
SCRIPTA MINORA



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XENOPHON

SCRIPTA MINORA

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
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SUB RECTOR OF LINCOLN COLLEGE, OXFORD



LONDON
WILLIAM HEINEMANN LTD
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

*First printed 1925
Reprinted 1949, 1956, 1962*

	by.	on
1 Supplied.	1 A& B18-67	
2 Price.	1 8s 2d	
3 Grant.	1 RULCL167	
4 Cla.	1	1
5 Acc.	1	12.9.67
6 Cat.	1	1
7 Numb.	1	1
8 C' d' eka		Printed in Great Britain

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INTRODUCTION

"WELL, Xenophon, I had been told that you are an Athenian, and that was all I knew about you but now I praise you for your words and deeds, and I should wish as many as possible to be like you That would be good for everybody —Cheirisophus the Lacedaemonian, in *Anabasis*, III 1 45

Various modern writers have challenged the ascription to Xenophon of every one of the works included in this volume. The *Agesilaus* and the *Ways and Means* have suffered much from the onslaughts of the critics, the *Agesilaus* on account of its style, the *Ways and Means* for its subject matter. It must suffice here to say that no case has been made out against any one of them, with the exception of the *Hunting*, and, even in that case, it is impossible to state with confidence that the main portion of the treatise was not written by Xenophon.¹ The rest may be accepted with confidence as the work of the man whose name they bear.

Undoubtedly there is something unusual about the miscellany, when regarded as the product of one author. Most authors write only in one manner, and when we have read some of their works we easily recognise their hand in the rest. With Xenophon it is not so, for there is an obvious difference of manner in different parts of the

¹ See below, VII (p. xxxvi).

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Hellenica Xenophon tried his hand at several kinds of prose literature—history, dialogue, the encomium, the technical treatise, the essay—and he had his ideas, gleaned from his reading, of the style appropriate to each kind. In the early part of the *Hellenica* we find him trying to write in the manner of Thucydides, in the rhetorical parts of the *Agesilaus* he clearly has the model of Gorgias before him. But of course for us it is not always possible to understand just *why* he regarded this or that manner as appropriate. Thus in the historical portion of the *Agesilaus*, he repeats passages of the *Hellenica* almost but not quite exactly, here he changes, there adds a word or two, but no modern reader can appreciate his reason for these minute alterations. But even in a translation, however inadequate, a reader must detect a difference in style between his rhetoric and his history.

More interesting for us is the variety of subjects that Xenophon knows and can expound. Of course he is better at some things than at others, but even about matters of which he is not a master he can tell us a good deal that is worth knowing. He flounders in the high finance, but even at that he is far from being such a duffer as some moderns have declared him to be. His speculations on forms of government and the secrets of national greatness are not profound, but they come from a singularly lucid well ordered mind. Of the theory of war he is a master. About horses, riding, the organisation and command of cavalry he knew everything that could be known in his day. His treatise on *Horsemanship*, especially, is in its way a masterpiece.

Like Socrates himself, he is continually trying to

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make himself useful. Perhaps for us there is rather too much of the don about him his books are too full of instruction, admonition and reproof, nor is it surprising that some think that he intended them to form a series of educational manuals for the use of his sons. What is abundantly clear to anyone who reads all his works is that his real purpose was to do good to everybody, and, generous man that he was, everybody meant to him the people of Athens—those by whom he had been driven into banishment. Exiles do not, as a rule, spend their time in heaping coals of fire on their fellow countrymen. Happily his fellow countrymen showed themselves not ungrateful, they annulled the decree of banishment, though too late to entice him back to Athens. He died at Corinth. In these lesser productions of a virtuous and versatile Athenian gentleman there is, even in our age, not a little that is worth reading, apart from the information about ancient Greek life and manners that we owe to them. Their brevity too is a merit, for owing to his pedantry, Xenophon in his longer works is apt to be tedious.

In style Xenophon is simple and natural, he avails himself, indeed, of the resources of rhetoric, but he uses them moderately, and, except occasionally in the *Agesilaus*, he uses them soberly and sensibly. By the Atticists and the later Sophists he was taken as a model of simplicity.

Few traces of these *opuscula*, with the exception of the *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians*, occur in literature anterior to the Christian era, but the Atticist Demetrius of Magnesia, friend of Cicero's friend Atticus, included all of them in his list of

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Xenophon's works¹. They are not cited by name by any extant Greek or Latin author earlier than Cicero, who refers in laudatory terms to the *Agesilaus*, and has made use of its design in his *Pro Lege Manilia*. But echoes may be heard here and there by an attentive listener. The *Constitution* quickly attained an importance disproportionate to its merit. Isocrates in his *Panathenaicus* makes some combative remarks that certainly apply, though not perhaps exclusively, to Xenophon's *Constitution*. All those who wrote on the Spartan institutions, including Aristotle, and especially the early Stoics, Zeno and his followers, used it as an authority. Nor was its influence exerted solely on the compilers of such works. Thinkers who speculated on the balanced or mixed form of Constitution also found it serviceable. Plato, indeed, as we should expect, ignores it in his *Laws*, but Aristotle in his *Politics* does not, and Polybius, in his sixth book, is clearly indebted to it. From the *Hiero* Isocrates has borrowed the matter and even some of the language in his address *On the Peace* (§ III f.), and this
the same year ret.
from this address

We may safely hazard a guess that the *Hiero* was a favourite work with the Cynics, amongst whom the unhappiness of the despot was a common theme². In the age of Polybius, the traveller Polemon of Ilium wrote a book with the curious title, *About the*

¹ It is inconceivable that Demetrus, as the text of Diogenes Laertius says, challenged the *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians*. Most of what follows, and much more may be

griechisch romanen

is an onslaught on

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Car in Xenophon (*Agesilaus*, c. viii 7), in which he gave an account of Spartan customs that is not to be found in Xenophon's *Constitution*¹. Nepos used the *Agesilaus* in his life of the king². The *Ways and Means* does not turn up once, but this is not surprising, since the brochure was written for a special occasion, and contains very little of general application. We may anticipate here by mentioning the adaptation of the passage (c. 1 2-8) on the nature of Attica by Aristides, the Sophist of the second century A.D., in his *Panathenaicus*³. About the earlier history of the *Cavalry Commander* and the *Horsemanship* there is a strange circumstance worthy of mention. Cato the Censor, as we know from Cicero, read, and highly esteemed Xenophon. The method of the opening of Cato's *de Re Rustica* has given rise to a suspicion that he had included these two treatises in his studies⁴. Considering the age at which Cato began Greek, he must have found the *Horsemanship* "a tough proposition," if he really tackled it. The *Horsemanship* did not oust Simon's work on the same subject from its position as an authority, but it is often impossible to be sure on which of the two treatises later writers draw⁵. Pollux came across a commentary on the *Horsemanship*, we cannot tell whether it was written before the Christian era. Probably Theophrastus already culled something from the

¹ *Athenaeus* iv. p. 175 F.

² It is now said that he did not use it directly, but I cannot believe this.

³ A. Frankmann *Jahresbericht des Museum* ixviii. 1912, p. 123. At one time works cited by Ammianus are the *Agesilaus* and the *Hunting* (Letters n. 1-4).

⁴ Leo started this.

⁵ Only in his *De Re Rustica* do we meet a full repetition of material that is due to Xenophon.

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*Hunting*¹ It is not clear that Grattius, who wrote his poem between 30 B.C. and 8 A.D., owes anything to the *Hunting*; nor is it likely, since he did not go to Simon or to Xenophon for his treatment of the horse.

Into the complicated history of Xenophon's shorter works in the Christian era we cannot enter.

To speak generally, the *Hiero* and *Agesilaus* seem to have been most read by the Atticists and Sophists; while the Romans, for the most part, neglected all of them.² But mention of one Greek author cannot be omitted, owing to the unique position that he occupies in the history of Xenophontine literature. Dio of Prusa (fl. 90 A.D.) not only, like Arrian, took Xenophon as his model of style, but his mind is saturated with Xenophon's thoughts and words. There is much of the *Hiero* and *Agesilaus* in Dio's discourses on kingship and despotism (I, II, III, VI, LXII). There is also, I think, a clear echo of the *Hunting* in Dio III 135-6. The *Agesilaus* is cited by Dionysius of Halicarnassus as the type of the encomium. To Roman encomiasts it furnished a model. Its influence is felt in the design of Nepos' *Atticus*, in the *Agricola* of Tacitus, in the *Panegyric* of the younger Pliny, and, according to Leo, in the balanced estimate of the Emperor Valentinian in Ammianus Marcellinus (fl. 370 A.D.), book xxx.³

¹ περὶ φυτῶν αλτιῶν vi 19-20 compared with *Hunting* v and viii.

² Only the *Cyropaedia* and *Memorabilia* of Xenophon's works gained a strong footing among the Romans.

³ I am not myself conscious of this. Resemblances are rather readily detected by keen investigators. Thus Rademacher says that Oppian used the *Hunting* in his *Cynegetica*, but I have waded through Oppian without detecting any reminiscence of it.

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Finally, we may refer to an amusing passage in the *Apollonius* of the Athenian Philostratus (age of Caracalla), which appears to be a "dig" at the Hunting, as the scholiast says it is. "They (Apollonius and his companion in India) came in," writes Philostratus, "for a dragon hunt which I must tell about, for it is highly absurd that the devotees of hunting should have found so much to say about the hare, and how she is, or shall be, caught, and we should pass over the record of this noble and marvellous sport."¹

I. *Hiero*

"Government of unwilling subjects and not controlled by laws, but imposed by the will of the ruler, is despotism"—*Memorabilia*, iv vi 12

"Despotic rule over unwilling subjects the gods give, I fancy, to those whom they judge worthy to live the life of Tantalus, of whom it is said that in hell he spends eternity, dreading a second death"—*Oeconomicus, the end*

The *Hiero* is an imaginary conversation between King Hiero, who ruled Syracuse from 478 to 467 B.C., and the poet Simonides of Ceos, one of the many famous strangers whom the hospitable despot entertained at his court. Its purpose is twofold—first to show that a despot, ruling without regard to the interests of his subjects, is less happy than the private citizen; and secondly, to show by what means a despot may succeed in winning the affection of his subjects, and, by so doing, may gain happiness for himself. This subject was a common topic of

Apollonius III. 6, Phillimore's translation.

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speculation among the Socratics¹ it had been discussed by Socrates himself, and we are told that Plato during his first visit to the court of Syracuse had spoken his mind upon it to Dionysius the Elder. Had it been possible for Xenophon to bring Socrates and a great despot together, we might have found just such a conversation in the *Memorabilia*². Isocrates, in his oration addressed to Nicocles (374 B.C.), says that many doubt whether the life of men who live virtuously or the life of a despot is preferable, and in the letter which he wrote to the children of Jason, the "tagus" of Thessaly (359 or 358 B.C.), he declares that the private citizen is the happier³.

Modern writers, anxious to discover the date at which the *Hiero* was written, have ransacked the records of the despots contemporary with Xenophon to find some special event or events that may have prompted him to compose it. Grote, for example, refers to an incident that occurred at the Olympic Festival of 388 or 384 B.C. In one of those years the orator Lysias delivered his *Olympic* oration, in which he stirred up hatred of despots,⁴ and incited the Greeks to unite in ridding Syracuse of Dionysius. The despot on that occasion was represented at the festival by a magnificent mission. The date of composition has therefore been placed at about 383 B.C. Another view is that Xenophon wrote his

¹ Dio of Prusa in his third discourse puts into the mouth of Socrates a discussion on the question of the happiness of the despot.

² Just as Dio (VI) brings Diogenes and the Persian king together.

³ Cf. Aristotle *Politics* p. 1325 A, and Stobaeus XLIX.

⁴ The tone of Antisthenes' *Archelaus* was similar (Dümmler, *Academika* p. 13).

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dialogue as a warning to Dionysius the Younger soon after his accession to the throne of Syracuse in 367 B.C. A third opinion is that the career of Jason of Pherae, who was assassinated in 370 B.C., was specially in Xenophon's mind, and a modification of this view is that our author had lately read the letter of Isocrates already referred to, and that his dialogue, like Isocrates' epistle, is a warning to Jason's children who now shared the power in Thessaly. This last opinion is supported by reference to the passage in which Hiero remarks that many despots have been destroyed by their own wives (iii. 8), for Jason's nephew, Alexander, joint "tagus" of Thessaly, was murdered by his brothers-in-law at the instigation of his wife Ihebē in 359 B.C.

But it is surely unnecessary to suppose that Xenophon had any special purpose or event in mind when he wrote the *Hiero*. The thing is merely a "Socratic" dialogue on a theme that interested him. He thought of despots in general, as the Socratics supposed them to be, and of course, like Plato in the ninth book of his *Republic*, when he writes of despotism he has an eye on the career of Dionysius I.¹ All that can be said about the date of composition is that, to judge from the language and the rhetoric of the *Hiero*, it appears to have been written in the author's later years.

There is no attempt at characterisation in the

¹ There is a close resemblance between *Iyu*, c. ix. p. 579 B.C. and *Hiero*, c. i. 11. Were the *Iyu* the later work it would be impossible to regard the *Iyu* as that which had lately read the *Egyp*. This must be so, since the *Iyu* was written between 370 and 359 B.C.

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persons of the dialogue Hiero is not in the least the historical Hiero whom we know from the Odes of Pindar and Bœchylides. He is not the great warrior nor the enlightened ruler; and of course there is no indication of the true basis of his power and of his constitutional position. He is just a despot of the better type. As for Simonides, Xenophon, in drawing his favourite analogy from the Choruses, once faintly alludes to his craft (c. ix. 4), but he makes no attempt anywhere to represent the courtier poet, had he done so he must have made Simonides bring in the subject of verse panegyries on princes at c. i. 14. The remark of the poet at c. i. 22 is singularly inappropriate to a man who had a liking for good living. At c. viii Xenophon discards the thin disguise, and Simonides stands clearly revealed as Xenophon himself. To some of the recommendations offered to rulers that he makes in these concluding chapters we have parallels in the *Cavalry Commander* and the *Ways and Means*.

The *Hiero* is a naive little work, not unattractive. In this case, as in that of the *Banquet*, it is unfortunate for our amiable author that Plato has written on the same subject with incomparably greater brilliancy.

The gist of Xenophon's counsel to despots is that a despot should endeavour to rule like a good king. The same counsel is given by Isocrates in his *Helen*, which was written about 370 B.C.¹. No man, in Xenophon's opinion, is fit to rule who is not better than his subjects².

¹ Aristotle in the *Politics* (p. 1313 A) agrees.

² *Cyropaedia*, viii. 1. 37.

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II. *Agesilaus*

"What is government, and what is a governor?"—
Memorabilia, i. i. 16

"Government of men with their consent and in accordance with the laws of the State is kingship"—
Memorabilia, iv vi 12

Agesilaus became one of the two joint kings of Sparta in 398 B.C. Though over forty at the time of his accession,¹ he reigned for nearly forty years, and died on active service, probably in the winter of 361–60 B.C. His long career as a commander in the field began with his expedition to Asia Minor in 396 B.C. We do not know for certain when Xenophon joined Agesilaus in Asia, and it is impossible to say with confidence whether or not he was an eye witness of the campaign of Agesilaus against Tissaphernes, the satrap of Lydia, in 395 B.C.² But he was certainly with Agesilaus in the following year, and returned with him from Asia to Greece. He fought under the king at the battle of Corone in the summer of 394 B.C. against his fellow citizens, and was banished in consequence. He spent some

¹ Xenophon calls him "still young" at the time of his accession, no doubt having in mind the great age to which he lived in full activity, and using the pardonable exaggeration of an "encomiast". Similarly Isocrates implies that Ptagoras (who was really assassinated) died a happy death.

² Xenophon's account of the campaign is utterly different from that which may now be read in a fragment of another history. But even if Xenophon was in Greece in 395 B.C., he of course heard the facts from Agesilaus himself. Lysolt has successfully defended the accuracy of his account. In one instance (c. i 33) I tacitly corrects the account he has given in the *Hellenica* (iii. iv. 28). At c. ii. 7 he defends what he had said in *Hell.* iv. iii. 15.

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time at Sparta, and thence removed to Scillus, near Olympia, to an estate that had been presented to him by the Lacedaemonians, doubtless at the suggestion of Agesilaus.

Xenophon always a hero worshipper, and an admirer of the ideal Spartan character and the institutions of Lycurgus, saw in Agesilaus the embodiment of his conception of a good king. Doubtless he, like Isocrates,¹ regarded the Spartan kingship as the best form of monarchy. Shortly after the death of his hero he produced this tribute to his memory. In spite of its rhetorical embellishments, there are signs of hasty composition in the *Agesilaus*. Haste probably accounts for the extensive borrowing from the *Hellenica*. Now why should Xenophon be in a hurry? From some pretty strong hints that all did not consider the king to be above adverse criticism, we may conclude that there was adverse criticism², quite possibly something had been written about Agesilaus that was not entirely complimentary. The *Agesilaus*, in the main an encomium is incidentally a defence.

A few years before, Isocrates had produced his encomium on Evagoras, king of Salamis in Cyprus, who was assassinated in 374 B.C. Isocrates says that he is the first to "praise a man's virtues in prose." If he means to say that nobody had written a prose encomium of an historical personage before him it is very doubtful whether his claim can be sustained.³ But perhaps he means only that he was the first to combine an account of a man's actions with praise of his character, pointing out the significance of

¹ Isocrates *de Pace* §§ 142–143.

² c. II 21 iv 3 v 6 viii 7.

³ Wilamowitz in *Hermetes*, xxxv p. 533.

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the actions as indicating the virtues of his hero.¹ That is just what he does in the *Liaoras*. Now in the first portion of the *Agesilaus* (c. i–ii), Xenophon has clearly taken the *Liaoras* for his model. The king's exploits, judiciously selected, are narrated in chronological order, passages from certain portions of the *Hellenica* being repeated with trifling alterations of the language, and into the narrative are woven comments on the king's character, as it is illustrated by his deeds.

Having finished with the king's actions, Xenophon gives an account of his virtues (c. iii–ix). This portion of his work has no counterpart in the *Liaoras*. But even here Xenophon's idea is not original. The great virtues—piety, justice, self control, courage, wisdom—are treated elsewhere in the same order. In Plato's *Banquet* the poet Agathon praises the justice, self control, courage and wisdom of Love, and Socrates remarks that the encomium reminds him of Gorgias. Xenophon himself at the end of the *Memorabilia* writes of the piety, justice, self control and wisdom of Socrates.² The order of the categories no doubt goes back to Gorgias. To these great virtues Xenophon adds patriotism, and several minor excellences. He rounds off his encomium with a formal epilogue (c. x).

To the epilogue is appended a summary (c. xi) of the king's virtues, and here again the categories are arranged in the same order.³ The summary

¹ So Usener.

² In *Cyropaedia*, VIII. 1. 23. 33 Xenophon enumerates the piety, justice and self control of Cyrus.

³ The indications of the order are fainter, but they can be discerned. But the disposition does not agree closely with that of the second part of the work.

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was a device introduced by the sophist Corax, and the use of it is alluded to as an established practice at the end of the *Palamedes*, an oration ascribed to Gorgias. The extant fragment of Gorgias' *Funeral Oration* appears to belong to a summary. There are examples of the summary also in Isocrates.¹ To the material of the eleventh chapter a passage of the *Eiagoras* has contributed something²

What is peculiar in the structure of the *Agesilaus* is the separate treatment of the actions and the virtues of the hero. Xenophon has followed Isocrates in one section of his encomium and Gorgias in the other.³ The result is, of course, a want of unity in the design. The work, however, was much admired by Cicero and by Nepos;⁴ and the latter's sketch of Cicero's friend Atticus is evidently modelled on it.

III. *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians*

"Lycurgus the Lacedaemonian now—have you realised that he would not have made Sparta to differ from other cities in any respect, had he not established obedience to the laws most securely in her?" — *Memorabilia*, iv iv 15

"When will Athenians show the Lacedaemonian reverence for age . . . when will they adopt the Lacedaemonian system of training . . . when will they reach that standard of obedience to their rulers

¹ e.g. *Antidosis*, §§ 127, 128, the character of Timotheus

² *Eiagoras* §§ 43–46. The notion that the eleventh chapter of the *Agesilaus* is spurious is wrong. Compare the character sketches of Proxenus and Menon in *Anabasis* II.

³ All the little tricks of rhetoric that have been adversely criticised by modern writers come in this second part.

⁴ Nepos, *Agesilaus*, c. 1.

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... or when will they attain that harmony?"—
Memorabilia, iii. v. 16.

Xenophon's purpose in this work was to show that the greatness and fame of the Lacedaemonians were due to "the laws of Lycurgus." He had no intention of writing a treatise on the Lacedaemonian constitution; and though here and there he refers to details of that constitution as things familiar to his readers, it is only in the last chapter, about the position and privileges of the kings, that he even mentions the word "constitution." Even the remarks on the constitutional powers of the Ephors in c. viii are merely illustrative. After the tenth chapter he gradually loses sight of his subject. For if the eleventh and the twelfth, on the excellency of the Spartan army, have a loose connexion with it, the thirteenth, on the powers of the kings, has none. The fourteenth is clearly an afterthought, an appendix; and the same is true of the fifteenth.

The title, then, is inaccurate; nevertheless there can be no doubt that it was chosen by the author himself. The first ten chapters are homogeneous, and they have the appearance of a complete essay. For evidently when he started Xenophon did not intend to trace the "power" of Sparta to the organisation of its army: he says clearly at the beginning that he attributes her power to her institutions or "principles"; and one of these principles turns out to be (c. ix.) that a glorious death is preferable to a base life—which is a good enough reason, in an essay, to account for the power of the state on the military side. Possibly, after writing the first ten chapters, Xenophon kept them by him, and added later on the appendices on the army and the functions

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lived at Corinth. Some years later his banishment from Athens was annulled on the proposal of Eubulus. He did not, however, return to his native city; but he sent his two sons home to serve in the Athenian cavalry.

In 355 B.C. Athens emerged in a state of serious financial exhaustion from a disastrous war with her most powerful allies. It was through Eubulus that the peace was concluded. In the following year Eubulus practically assumed control of the state finances,¹ and he at once set to work to increase the revenue and to relieve the poverty of the citizens. The citizen body at this time, as we can see from the *Ways and Means*, was in a deplorable condition.Lazy and poverty stricken, the people looked to the state for maintenance. Trade was in the hands of the resident aliens, among whom were many Asiatics (c. 11.3). How precisely Eubulus dealt with the problems that faced him we do not know. But as Controller of the "theoric" fund he raised enough money from this tax upon the well-to-do to enable him to make distributions to the people on an unprecedented scale. From a passage in the orator Demarchus we infer that Eubulus also introduced measures for the improvement of the cavalry. And when his administration came to an end, probably in 339 B.C., the mines at Laurium, which had been neglected, were once again being vigorously worked by men in partnership and by private companies.

The resemblance between these operations of Eubulus and some of the proposals contained in

¹ See especially Leoch, *Attische Politik seit Perikles*, p. 177 f.

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Xenophon's brochure is obvious. The brochure is addressed, apparently, to the Council of Five Hundred. The author confines himself rigidly to proposals of a practical nature. It is not his business here to probe the causes of the prevalent distress. The author of the *Memorabilia* knew well enough what was wrong with the Athenians, but when the problem of the moment is how to raise cash, it is useless to demand a change of national habits: you must take the conditions as they are, and make the best of them. The recognition of the demoralising dole system was, of course, unavoidable. Then, according to Xenophon's plan, capital is to be raised by the imposition of an income tax—whether for one year or more is not stated—and expended on the erection of hotels, the provision of accommodation for merchants and visitors both in the Peiraeus and in the city, and on a fleet of state-owned merchant vessels. Much space is given to measures to be adopted for the improved working of the mines: amongst them are a measure of state socialism (c. iv. 30) and a proposal for the formation of a great Joint-Stock Company (c. iv. 32). To encourage internal trade, it is essential to encourage the resident aliens, their status must be improved. It is a shock to find Xenophon proposing to make these aliens—including Lydians, Phrygians and Syrians—eligible for the aristocratic cavalry.

The insistence on the necessity of maintaining peace as an essential condition of financial recovery is in accordance with the policy of Eubulus.

Earlier in this same year, 355 B.C., Isocrates, now an octogenarian, issued his pamphlet *On the Peace*,

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in which he exhorted the Athenians to endeavour to conciliate the Greek world. His pamphlet is ostensibly a harangue addressed to the Ascribary, and its subject is political morality. There are clear indications that Xenophon had read it before writing the *Ways and Means*.¹

V. The Cavalry Commander²

"Perhaps you think you can do something for the good of the State as a cavalry leader, in case there is any occasion to employ that arm."—*Memorabilia*, III. iii. 2

The discourse on the duties of the cavalry commander was written at a time when there was some reason to anticipate the outbreak of war between Athens and Thebes (c. vii. 3), probably in 365 B.C. It is ostensibly addressed to an individual about to enter on that exalted office; but the convention is not constantly maintained, especially towards the end of the treatise. It is almost certain that Xenophon in his younger days had himself been a member of the Athenian cavalry corps, in 409 B.C. and the years following, and he had lately sent his two sons home to Athens to serve in the force. His profound interest in cavalry and his knowledge of its use are, of course, apparent in the *Cyropaedia*, the *Anabasis* and the *Memorabilia*. Our treatise may, indeed, be viewed as a commentary on the statement of a cavalry commander's duties that is put into the mouth of Socrates in the last mentioned work (III. iii. 1).

¹ He has levied toll on §§ 21, 30, 42, 53 and 138.

² Literally the Greek title means "A discourse on the command of cavalry."

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When Xenophon wrote the discourse Athens was at peace. But even in peace time the duties of the cavalry, though ornamental, were important, since the cavalry procession was a prominent feature of all the great state festivals. And of course training for war was always being carried on with more or less vigour. Things were at the moment in a pretty bad way with the corps. Owing to the prevailing poverty, and the slackness of the Council and their immediate agents, the two annually elected commanders of cavalry ("hipparchis"), the number of troopers had apparently fallen from the thousand required by law to about six hundred and fifty, and the quality of the horses and the efficiency of the riders left much to be desired. It is probable that in this case, as in others, Xenophon's exhortations were not without practical result, for at the time of the battle of Mantinea (361 b.c.) the Athenian cavalry was able to play a creditable part in the field.

Xenophon recommends the use of infantry among the cavalry (c v 13), and his words imply that at the time infantry were not regularly provided for this service. In the *Constitution of Athens*, written some forty years later, Aristotle mentions such a body of infantry as a normal appendage to the cavalry. In the *Memorabilia*, as in our treatise, the cavalry commander is urged to require that the horses incapable of going the pace should be rejected. Aristotle, repeating the very expression used by Xenophon, says that the Council marked and rejected such horses. Both reforms may be due to Xenophon, at least in part. For it is hardly likely that the advice of such an authority can have gone entirely unheeded.

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in which he exhorted the Athenians to endeavour to conciliate the Greek world. His pamphlet is ostensibly a harangue addressed to the Assembly, and its subject is political morality. There are clear indications that Xenophon had read it before writing the *Ways and Means*¹.

V. *The Cavalry Commander*²

"Perhaps you think you can do something for the good of the State as a cavalry leader, in case there is any occasion to employ that arm"—*Memorabilia*, III in 2.

The discourse on the duties of the cavalry commander was written at a time when there was some reason to anticipate the outbreak of war between Athens and Thebes (c. viii 3), probably in 365 B.C. It is ostensibly addressed to an individual about to enter on that exalted office, but the convention is not consistently maintained, especially towards the end of the treatise. It is almost certain that Xenophon in his younger days had himself been a member of the Athenian cavalry corps, in 409 B.C. and the years following, and he had lately sent his two sons home to Athens to serve in the force. His profound interest in cavalry and his knowledge of its use are, of course, apparent in the *Cyropaedia*, the *Anabasis* and the *Memorabilia*. Our treatise may, indeed, be viewed as a commentary on the statement of a cavalry commander's duties that is put into the mouth of Socrates in the last mentioned work (III in 1).

¹ He has levied toll on §§ 21, 30, 42, 53 and 138.

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VI. *On the Art of Horsemanship*

"Seeing you are forced to meddle with horses, don't you think that common sense requires you to see that you are not ignorant of the business? — *Oeconomus*, iii 9

The treatise on *Horsemanship*, the oldest complete treatise on the subject in existence, was written soon after the *Cavalry Commander* (c xii 14). It is a masterly production. The text has suffered considerably from corruption, and even with the aid of restoration it is not easy reading, nevertheless, it presents no serious problems that still await solution. Bearing in mind the cardinal differences between the Greek cavalry horse of which Xenophon writes, and the modern riding horse, we shall have no serious difficulty in following the author. The Greek cavalry horse, familiar to everybody from the Parthenon sculptures, was small and cob like. He was a troublesome creature to ride, and given the conditions, although the cavalry was not always an efficient arm in the field, it is a mistake to suppose that the individual Greek rider was a poor horseman, nor is the supposition borne out by the Parthenon figures. The horses were ungelded and unshod, they were given to biting, and the rider had neither stirrups, nor saddle, nor curb to assist him. The well to do young Athenian rode, but did not often ride merely for pleasure he rode commonly as a member or a prospective member of the cavalry — it is significant that the same word is used for a "horseman" and a "cavalryman", occasionally he rode in order to compete in the horse races at the Games, or if he were rich he hunted on horse

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buck¹ Naturally, therefore, the only gaits in use were the walk, the trot and the gallop.

The practical horseman will no doubt notice certain details in which modern practice differs from the Greek usage. But he will assuredly be surprised to find that so much of Xenophon's doctrine survives unchallenged in the modern lore of the horse and his rider, and he will acknowledge that Xenophon was both an excellent judge of a horse and a highly accomplished horseman.

Xenophon recommends a "flexible" in preference to a "stiff" bit (c. x). Two "flexible" bits now in the Berlin Museum are figured and described by E. Pernice in his monograph entitled *Griechisches Pferdegeschirr* (Berlin, 1896). The bits, which are of bronze, and belong to the fourth century, B.C., were found along with a beautiful bronze muzzle and bronze ornaments of the headstall in a grave in Boeotia. They are complete in every detail, including the curved branches at the ends to which the straps of the headstall were fastened and the branches to which the reins were attached. Xenophon is concerned only with the bit itself. This, in the two examples referred to, consists of two axles joined in the middle by two links, one link within the other. Next to the links are discs, then on either side a cylinder covered with four rows of sharp teeth. Next to the cylinders come the branches to be attached to the headstall, and outside these the branches for the reins. Discs,

¹ Thus Ischomachus (*Oeconomicus*, xi. 17 f.), an excellent horseman (20), says that he has his horse led to and from his farm he mounts at the farm, and goes through military exercises. Xenophon is, of course, describing his own practice.

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cylinders and branches move on the axles. From each of the central links hangs a little chain, of three or four rings (see c x 9).

When the horse was led out to be groomed or to give him a roll, a muzzle was used. The muzzle is depicted on several vases. For example, a black-figured amphora in the Ashmolean Museum (No 212) shows a led horse wearing the muzzle, and, in this case, bridled as well. The muzzles for ordinary use were made either of straps or of wicker. The Ashmolean horse's muzzle is attached by a strap passing under the ears. In another example figured in E Walpole's *Memoirs of European and Asiatic Turkey*, we have two horses muzzled and tied together by the leading reins that hang from the muzzle. A groom is cleaning the back of the horse on the right with a strigil (cf c v 5). Another groom is examining the uplifted forefoot of the horse on the left, crouching beneath the horse in a manner not approved by Xenophon. A halter was also attached to the bridle and used in mounting or in leading the horse when not muzzled (c vii 1). The halter is clearly seen on one of the horses depicted on an Attic *cylix* in the Berlin Museum, of which the subject is the examination of the cavalry recruits, and there are other extant examples.

In the twelfth chapter Xenophon recommends that the horse should be protected in war with a frontlet, breastplate and thigh pieces¹. It is not unlikely that these came into use in Greece as the result of his recommendation. Their origin is

¹ From this chapter it is clear that the rider's thighs were not protected by thigh pieces.

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Asiatic, and of course Xenophon had seen them used during the expedition of the Ten Thousand.

The methodical construction of this treatise contrasts strongly with the want of arrangement that we find in the *Discourse on Hunting*. The author starts with a modest reference to his skill in horsemanship, and here let the translator, whose own acquaintance with horses has been brief and disastrous, offer an apology to any practical horseman into whose hands this version, or perversion, may fall, for any absurdities that lie may—it is but too likely—detect in the English equivalents used in the translation to represent the technical terms of the original. After this brief and characteristic exordium the author falls at once to business. Here is a list of the contents: (1) Buying a colt—points and size of the young horse (c. i.) (2) Breaking a young horse (c. ii.) (3) Buying a horse already ridden (c. iii.) (4) Stable and yard (c. iv.) (5) The groom's duties (c. v.—vi.) (6) Instructions to the rider—mounting, starting, exercises (c. vii.—viii.) (7) Management of a fiery horse (c. ix.) (8) How to make the best of a wai horse (c. x. 1–5) (9) Bits, their form and use (c. x. 6) (10) The horse for ceremonial occasions (c. xi.) (11) Armour of rider and horse (c. xii. 1–10) (12) Offensive weapons and their use (c. xii. 11) (13) Brief reference to the *Cavalry Commander* for further information. The exposition is as clear as the arrangement.

In his opening words, and elsewhere, Xenophon refers to the treatise of Simon, of which an important fragment survives in the library of Emmanuel College, Cambridge.¹ There is much matter common to both

¹ There are several modern editions.

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treatises, but it is unfair to represent Xenophon as merely repeating Simon.¹ Both authors begin their description of the parts of the horse at the hoofs and work upwards to the head. All later writers on the horse, Greek and Roman, start at the head. Very likely Xenophon consciously followed Simon's method—it would be like him to do that.

VII *Hunting*

When an Englishman tells you that he is "going to hunt," you understand him to mean that he intends to hunt the fox on horseback. Had you heard a young Greek of the fourth century B.C. make the same remark, the odds would have been that he was going to hunt the hare on foot. Two other branches of the sport in which the average young Greek then indulged were the hunting of the red deer and the boar. But if either of these creatures was to be the object of his pursuit, he would have said so, and in either case he would have been intending to go unmounted,² unless he had said definitely that he was going on horseback. These simple facts explain the absence of a statement early in this treatise (c. ii), that its author intends to deal first with hare hunting, and also explain why there is nothing in the treatise about hunting on horseback, apart from an incidental reference in the appendix on hunting abroad (c. xi. 3). Sons of aristocratic houses often rode to hounds,

¹ Oller in his *Anecdota Cantabrigiensia* a mine of information on the ancient horse literature is hardly just to Xenophon.

² The term *κυνηγεῖσθαι* consistently used for hunting in the treatise is normally confined in classical authors to hunting on foot.

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and no doubt Xenophon's boys were mounted when they hunted boars, gazelles and red deer at Scillus.¹ But this treatise is addressed to the average young hunter, and is confined to those forms of the sport that were open to him.

The art of hunting, like other arts and crafts, was a gift of the gods to the centaur Chiron, who imparted it to many heroes, all of whom enjoyed the special favour of the gods. To this topic is devoted a lengthy rhetorical exordium, which differs entirely by its elaborate style from the rest of the treatise, in which the rules of formal composition are almost entirely disregarded. There is no parallel to this exordium in Greek literature anterior to the Christian era.² To Xenophon, indeed, a long exordium of any kind is alien.

The writer's object is instruction of the novice. He undertakes to enumerate and to explain all the paraphernalia required in hunting (c. ii. 2). But his promise is but indifferently fulfilled in the sequel. He is excellent in description, but, like so many modern teachers, he unconsciously reckons on too much knowledge in his pupils. Especially confusing is his use of the same term for the track and the scent of the hare, and the directions for unravelling the tracks and for setting up the nets, the parts of which he does not explain, are anything but clear.

¹ *Anabasis*, v. iii. 10. We see that this treatise was not written as is sometimes supposed, for the use of Xenophon's sons.

² As for the date of the exordium see below. J. Mewaldt (*Hermes* xlvi. p. 76) has pointed out a remarkable parallel in the exordium to the *Physician* falsely attributed to Galen, but contemporary with him.

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Nor is his arrangement of his matter in the section on the hare wholly satisfactory. For most of the seventh chapter and the whole of the eighth consist of remarks, in the nature of an appendix, on the subject of the third chapter.

It is surprising to find that nets were not used in Greece for hunting the red deer on foot, though the "net-keeper" accompanied the hunt (c. ix. 6). Their place was taken by the abominable traps or caltrops, which are carefully and clearly described. We wonder how an unmounted hunter was to get among the deer and to isolate a member of the herd (c. ix. 10).

To the survey of the three branches of hunting the author appends a few irrelevant remarks on the hunting of big game abroad, apparently just because the subject interested him and might be expected to interest his young readers. These remarks, it may be observed, do not include varieties of hunting that Xenophon had witnessed in Asia, and would be expected to describe if he had written the *Hunting at Scillus*.

Having finished with the technical side of the subject, our author launches out into an enumeration of the benefits to be derived from hunting on foot (c. xii. 1-9). It is good for the health, fits men for their military duties, and affords a fine moral training. Some, he says, meaning, probably, Aristippus and his followers, object to hunting on the ground that it leads men to waste the time that ought to be given to their business and to the service of the state. These objectors are utterly wrong, and many of them are even vicious. But hunters are a virtuous folk, because they love toil (c. xii. 10, end). The

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argument here, and in the last chapter, is sloppy, but the writer disarms criticism by his zeal

The task that the writer set himself at the beginning is now completed, and we should have expected him to end here. But he is in a fighting mood, and is determined to warn his young readers against all the enemies of his theories. Chief among these are the "sophists," that is, the professors of other systems of education than that in which he believes. They have never made a man virtuous, and their writings, for all the care lavished on their style, do nobody any good. Very likely one of them will attack this treatise for its slipshod style and want of "beauty." What does the author care? He seeks to do good not to train the young in sophistry. Beware of the professors and cleave to the lovers of wisdom! Then there are the unscrupulous self-seekers and reckless politicians. Don't emulate them! The best of them incur envy,¹ and the bad ones are rogues. But hunters are genial and kindly, and they seek only to do good.

The technical portion of this treatise (c. ii-xi) and the curious epilogue (c. xii-xiii) are certainly contemporary with Xenophon, and—as all competent critics now agree—both were written by one man. The attack on the "sophists" in the last chapter must have been written in the fourth century B.C., when philosophers and "sophists" wrangled over the theory and practice of education, and flooded the world with books on the subject. The descriptive portions of the technical part are worthy of Xenophon, and the sentiments expressed in the

¹ This I think, must have been the case, according to c. x. 10 before the text was corrected.

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epilogue strongly remind us of his sentiments. The difficulty in accepting the treatise as his lies mainly in the jerkiness of the style and the looseness of the grammar. We miss the combination of short simple sentences with long periods that is characteristic of his manner, and the constant indulgence in "ellipse," "asyndeton," "chiasmus," "infinitive of command, and so on, is not at all like what we find in his acknowledged works. On the whole, when the pros and cons are weighed and reweighed, it does not appear utterly impossible that he wrote it as a first experiment in authorship before leaving Athens for Asia. The work is full of his zest for hunting, his pietism, his insistence that before you try to do a thing, you must understand how to do it, and, above all, his belief in the efficacy of diligence and toil. The author of the treatise is clearly an Athenian, and though his opinions bear a strong resemblance to those of the older Cynics, and especially of Antisthenes, the founder of the Cynic school, I see no decisive reason for thinking it impossible—though it is certainly difficult to believe—that Xenophon wrote it in the last years of Socrates' life. He was then aged thirty,¹ and might employ a didactic tone towards the youth of eighteen. If he did, he must have adopted a manner of writing that he judged appropriate to a didactic treatise addressed to the young.² We must suppose that he deliberately

¹ Xenophon was born 430 B.C., Apollodorus (fl. 150 B.C.) in his *Chronica* wrongly suggested 440 B.C. From Apollo

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avoided formal rhetoric, of which there are only very few examples in the treatise *Xenophon in the Hellenica* and the *Agesilaus* does experiment in different styles of writing, though within limits that he passes far beyond in the *Hunting*, if this work be really his. But a great difficulty confronts us. In the thirteenth chapter (3-7) the writer, in his most rhetorical passage, says in effect that he despises rhetoric as practised in his day, and has no belief in its value. Now the rhetoric of the fourth century sophists is based on the teaching of Gorgias and Prodicus. Xenophon elsewhere always writes respectfully of these two great stylists, and he shows both by his statements and by his practice that he has a keen appreciation of rhetoric as an aid to persuasion.¹ Already at the beginning of the *Hellenica* (1 : 30-31) he attributes the reputation of Hermocrates the Syracusean "as speaker and adviser" to the attention that he paid to oratory, and Sicilian oratory without rhetoric is unthinkable. Can it be that between say, 401 B.C. and 393 B.C. he so entirely changed his opinion? It is possible that he did so, in consequence of his experience in Asia where the influence of oratory on the soldiers was continually made manifest.²

In at least two parts of the epilogue it is highly probable that Aristippus is attacked, first as object

¹ The results of his study of Gorgias can be traced in the *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians* and the *Ways and Means* as well as in the *Agesilaus*.

² Note especially what he says about Proxenus (*Anabasis*, II vi 16) that in his youth he had an ambition to become a man of affairs and therefore put himself under Gorgias.

writings. A pretty specimen of it is to be found in Plato's description of the two horses (*Plaesus* p. 253 D).

ing to toil, and further on as a self seeker (xii 10, xiii 10), Aristippus was, in fact, the first of the Socratics to take fees from his pupils¹. Now we know that Xenophon had an aversion to Aristippus, whose opinions and conduct naturally jarred on him. What is more likely than that Xenophon should warn his young readers against such an alluring but dangerous teacher?

Here we may leave the problem. The style does not in the least suggest Xenophon much of the matter, both in the technical part and in the epilogue, does suggest him. Absurdities have been pointed out² in the reasoning of the epilogue, but some of these absurdities are probably due to the corrupt state in which the text of it has come down to us. For whereas in the technical part we have the powerful aid of Pollux in correcting the text, he cites nothing from the epilogue.

The laborious exordium is not contemporary with the rest of the work. Certain rhythms are persistently used in it that were not in vogue earlier than the first half of the third century B.C.³. But the "sophistic" list of Chiron's pupils and, still more, the highly artificial order of the words show that the date is much later than the third century. Norden, the highest authority in these matters, states confidently that the exordium belongs to the period of the "second sophistic".⁴ We may con-

¹ Diogenes Laertius ii 65.

² Especially by Hartman in his *Analecta Xenophontea*.

³ Especially the *dichoreus* (—~) at the end of the sentence, which is characteristic of the *Asiatic style* (Radermacher in *Heinrichs Museum* III).

⁴ In *Die Antike Prosakunst* (p. 433) he cites some striking parallels from the Lemnian Philostratus *Imagines* and from *Aelian*.

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clude without hesitation that it was composed in the reign of Hadrian (A.D. 117–138), when also the reference to it in c. xiii. 18 was added.¹ Somewhere about A.D. 150 Arrian must have come across a copy of the *Hunting* in Athens, with the exordium already prefixed. He took the exordium at its face value, and assumed that it too was written by Xenophon.² In the *Heroicus* (p. 308), written between A.D. 213 and 219, the Lemnian Philostratus includes Telamon, Theseus and Palamedes among the disciples of Chiron. These heroes are mentioned nowhere else as pupils of the Centaur except in our epilogue.³

The earliest author who alludes to the *Hunting* as Xenophon's work is Plutarch; but Demetrius of Magnesia, a contemporary of Cicero, already recognised it as his.⁴

The principal manuscripts are the following:—

I. For the *Hiero*, *Agesilaus*, *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians* and *Ways and Means*:

A. (*Vaticanus*, 1335), tenth or eleventh century. Of the *Ways and Means* only a part (c. i. 5 to c. iii. 5) has survived.

¹ This passage furnished, as it were, a text to the writer of the exordium.

² Arrian, *Cynegiticus* i. It is odd that Arrian, no mean judge of style, accepted the whole work, including the exordium, as certainly genuine.

³ The coincidence at least shows that these names were introduced into the list by the late sophists. K. Minnecher (*Ptolemy*, *Supplementum*, x., p. 503) doubts whether Philostratus consciously repeats the author of the exordium; nor do I think it certain that he does so.

⁴ Diogenes Laertius, ii. 57.

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- B (*Vaticanus*, 1950), fifteenth century. Probably copied from A.
- C. (*Mulinensis*, 145), fifteenth century. This MS does not include the *Agesilaus*. It contains many peculiar readings, of which many are conjectures
- M (*Marcianus*, 511), probably thirteenth century

A papyrus fragment of the *Ways and Means*, c 1 5-6, belonging to the second century AD, is edited by Wilcken in the *Archiv für Papyrussorschung*, vol 1

The copious extracts contained in the *Florilegium* of Stobaeus are specially important for checking the text of the *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians*

2 For the Cavalry Commander, Horsemanship and Hunting

- A. (*Indobonensis*, IV. 37), sixteenth century
This MS does not include the *Cavalry Commander*. It is derived from an archetype of the twelfth century, and is the best MS of the *Horsemanship* and *Hunting*. Its version of c 1 of *Hunting* is peculiar, evidently because the MS from which it was copied was blurred and partly illegible

- B. (*Vaticanus*, 989) thirteenth century
The best MS of the *Hipparchicus*, and the next best to A of the other two. The first chapter of *Hunting*, and the opening words of the second are missing.

- M (*Marcianus*, 511)

The lexicon of Pollux is of the utmost value in checking and restoring the corrupted text of the

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treatise on *Horsemanship* and the technical parts of that on *Hunting*

An excellent critical edition of the text of the first four treatises by A Thilheim and of the last three by E Ruehl is included in the Teubner Series

There is also a recent text of the whole in Vol V of *Xenophontis Opera Omnia* (Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis)

A translation of the *Horsemanship* with notes by R Berenger is included in his *History of the Art of Horsemanship* (1671) Paul Louis Courier's translation of the *Cavalry Commander* and *Horsemanship* (1st ed 1807) contains many valuable notes, and his contribution to the purification and elucidation of the text is of the first importance The MS that he followed was *Vaticanus* 989

The Art of Horsemanship translated, with chapters on the Greek Riding Horse, and with notes, by Morris H Morgan (1894) is excellent

The German translation of the last mentioned work by F Pollack (1912) includes a commentary and a full bibliography and is indispensable to students

O Minns, *Über die Jagd bei den Griechen* (1888-1890), has given a complete exposition of the technical portions of the treatise on *Hunting*

R M Radermacher's articles in the *Rheinisches Museum*, li, lii, mark an epoch in the criticism of the *Hunting*

All recent textual criticism of the *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians* and of the last three treatises included in this volume is based on the exhaustive work of three Italian scholars The results arrived

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at by them are contained in the following Berlin editions:—

G. Pierleoni:	Xenophontis	<i>Respublica Lacedae<i>n</i>o iuris</i> , 1903
" "	"	<i>Cyropa<i>de</i>cus</i> , 1902
P. Cerocchi:	"	<i>Hipparchicus</i> , 1901
V. Tommiserini:	"	<i>de Re F<i>eques</i>tri</i> , 1902

The Greek text of this volume follows that of Suppe (= S in the footnotes) except where stated.

The earliest printed edition of the collected works is that of Filippo Giunta (Florence, 1516); but it does not include the *Agesilaus* and *Ways and Means*. The *Agesilaus* was first printed by J. Reuchlin in 1520 (with the *Apology* and *Hiero*), and the *Ways and Means* in the Aldine ed. (1525).

HIERO

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΙΕΡΩΝ

I. Σιμωνίδης ὁ ποιητὴς ἀφίκετό ποτε πρὸς Ἱέρωνα τὸν τύραννον. σχολῆς δὲ γενομένης ἀμφοῖν εἶπεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης· Ἄρ’ ἂν μοι ἐθελήσαις, ὡς Ἱέρων, διηγήσασθαι ἢ εἰκὸς εἰδέναι σε βέλτιον ἔμοῦ;

Καὶ ποῖα ταῦτ’ ἔστιν, ἔφη ὁ Ἱέρων, ὅποια δὴ ἐγὼ βέλτιον ἀν εἰδείην σου οὕτως ὄντος σοφοῦ ἀνδρός;

2 Οὐδά σε, ἔφη, ἐγὼ καὶ ἴδιώτην γεγενημένον καὶ νῦν τύραννον ὄντα· εἰκὸς οὖν ἀμφοτέρων πεπειραμένον καὶ εἰδέναι σε μᾶλλον ἔμοῦ, πῆδιαφέρει ὁ τυραννικός τε καὶ ὁ ἴδιωτικὸς βίος εἰς εὐφροσύνας τε καὶ λύπας ἀνθρώποις.

3 Τί οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Ἱέρων, οὐχὶ καὶ σύ, ἐπεὶ νῦν γε ἔτι ἴδιώτης εἶ, ὑπέμνησάς με τὰ ἐν τῷ ἴδιωτικῷ βίῳ; οὕτως γάρ ἂν σοι οἴμαι μάλιστα ἐγὼ δύνασθαι δηλοῦν τὰ διαφέροντα ἐν ἑκατέρῳ.

4 Οὕτω δὴ ὁ Σιμωνίδης εἶπε· Τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἴδιώτας ἐγωγε, ὡς Ἱέρων, δοκῶ μοι καταμεμαθηκέναι διὰ μὲν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ὄράμασιν ἥδομένους τε καὶ ἀχθομένους, διὰ δὲ τῶν ὤτων ἀκούσμασι, διὰ δὲ τῶν ρἱνῶν ὄσμαῖς, διὰ δὲ τοῦ στόματος σίτοις τε καὶ ποτοῖς, τὰ δὲ ἀφροδίσια δι’ ὧν δὴ πάντες

5 ἐπιστάμεθα· τὰ δὲ ψύχη καὶ θάλπη καὶ σκληρὰ καὶ μαλακὰ καὶ κοῦφα καὶ βαρέα ὅλῳ τῷ σώματί μοι δοκοῦμεν, ἔφη, κρίνοντες ἥδεσθαι τε

XENOPHON'S HIERO

I. SIMONIDES, the poet, once paid a visit to Hiero, the despot. When both found time to spare, Simonides said. "Hiero, will you please explain something to me that you probably know better than I?"

"And pray what is it," said Hiero, "that I can know better than one so wise as yourself?"

"I know you were born a private citizen," he answered, "and are now a despot. Therefore, as you have experienced both fortunes, you probably know better than I how the lives of the despot and the citizen differ as regards the joys and sorrows that fall to man's lot."

"Surely," said Hiero, "seeing that you are still a private citizen, it is for you to remind me of what happens in a citizen's life, and then, I think, I could best show you the differences between the two."

"Well," said Simonides, taking the suggestion, "I think I have observed that sights affect private citizens with pleasure and pain through the eyes, sounds through the ears, smells through the nostrils, meat and drink through the mouth, carnal appetites —of course we all know how. In the case of cold and heat, things hard and soft, light and heavy, our sensations of pleasure and pain depend on the

¹ δ A. Sauppe omits with the other MSS

καὶ λυπεῖσθαι ἐπ' αὐτοῖς· ἀγαθοῖς δὲ καὶ κακοῖς
ἔστι μὲν ὅτε δι' αὐτῆς τῆς ψυχῆς μοι δοκοῦμεν
ἡδεσθαί τε καὶ λυπεῖσθαι, ἔστι δ' ὅτε κοινῇ διά
6 τε τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ διὰ τοῦ σώματος. τῷ δ'
ὑπνῳ ὅτι μὲν ἡδόμεθα, δοκῶ μοι αἰσθάνεσθαι,
ὅπως δὲ καὶ φτινι καὶ ὅπότε, ταῦτα μᾶλλον πως,
ἔφη, δοκῶ μοι ἀγνοεῖν. καὶ οὐδὲν ἵσως τοῦτο
θαυμαστόν, εἰ τὰ ἐν τῷ ἐγρηγορέναι σαφεστέρας
ἥμιν τὰς αἰσθήσεις παρέχεται η τὰ ἐν τῷ ὑπνῳ.

7 Πρὸς ταῦτα δὴ ὁ Ἰέρων ἀπεκρίνατο, Ἐγὼ μὲν
τούννυ, ἔφη, ὁ Σιμωνίδη, ἔξω τούτων ὡν εἴρηκας
σύγε οὐδὲ ὅπως ἀν αἰσθοιτό τινος ἄλλου ὁ
τύραννος ἔχοιμ' ἀν εἰπεῖν, ὥστε μέχρι γε τούτου
οὐκ οἶδ' εἰ τινι διαφέρει ὁ τυραννικὸς βίος τοῦ
ἰδιωτικοῦ βίου.

8 Καὶ ὁ Σιμωνίδης εἶπεν, Ἄλλ' ἐν τοῖσδε, ἔφη,
διαφέρει πολλαπλάσια μὲν δι' ἑκάστου τούτων
εὐφραίνεται, πολὺ δὲ μείω τὰ λυπηρὰ ἔχει.

Καὶ ὁ Ἰέρων εἶπεν. Οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει, ὁ Σι-
μωνίδη, ταῦτα, ἀλλ' εὖ ἵσθ', ὅτι μείω πολὺ¹
εὐφραίνονται οἱ τύραννοι τῶν μετρίων διαγόντων
ἰδιωτῶν, πολὺ δὲ πλείω καὶ μείζω λυποῦνται.

9 "Απιστα λέγεις, ἔφη ὁ Σιμωνίδης. εἰ γὰρ
οὗτω ταῦτ' εἶχε, πῶς ἀν πολλοὶ μὲν ἐπεθύμουν
τυραννεῖν, καὶ ταῦτα τῶν δοκούντων ἴκανωτάτων
ἀνδρῶν εἶναι; πῶς δὲ πάντες ἔζηλουν ἀν τοὺς
τυράννους;

10 "Οτι ναὶ μὰ τὸν Δῖ, ἔφη ὁ Ἰέρων, ἀπειροι ὄντες
ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἔργων σκοποῦνται περὶ αὐτοῦ.
ἔγὼ δὲ πειράσομαι σε διδάσκειν, ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω,
ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς ὅψεως ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ καὶ σὲ
δοκῶ μεμνῆσθαι ἀρξάμενον λέγειν.

whole body, I think. In good and evil we seem to feel pleasure or pain, as the case may be—sometimes through the instrumentality of the moral being only, at other times through that of the moral and the physical being together. Sleep, it seems clear to me, affects us with pleasure, but how and by what means and when are puzzles that I feel less able to solve. And perhaps it is no matter for surprise if our sensations are clearer when we are awake than when we are asleep."

"For my part, Simonides," said Hiero in answer to this, "I cannot say how a despot could have any sensations apart from those you have mentioned. So far, therefore, I fail to see that the despot's life differs in any respect from the citizen's."

"In this respect it does differ," said Simonides, "the pleasures it experiences by means of these various organs are infinitely greater in number, and the pains it undergoes are far fewer."

"It is not so, Simonides, retorted Hiero, "I assure you far fewer pleasures fall to despots than to citizens of modest means, and many more and much greater pains."

"Incredible!" exclaimed Simonides. "Were it so, how should a despot's throne be an object of desire to many, even of those who are reputed to be men of ample means? And how should all the world envy despots?"

"For this reason of course," said Hiero, "that they speculate on the subject without experience of both estates. But I will try to show you that I am speaking the truth, beginning with the sense of sight. That was your first point, if I am not mistaken."

- 11 Πρῶτον μὲν γάρ ἐν τοῖς διὰ τῆς ὄψεως θεάμασι λογιζόμενος εύρίσκω μειονεκτοῦντας τοὺς τυράννους. ἄλλα μέν γε ἐν ἄλλῃ χώρᾳ ἐστὶν ἀξιοθέατα· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων ἔκαστα οἱ μὲν ἴδιῶται ἔρχονται καὶ εἰς πόλεις ἂν βούλωνται καὶ εἰς τὰς κοινὰς πανηγύρεις, ἔνθα ἀ¹ ἀξιοθεατότατα
- 12 δοκεῖ ἀνθρώποις συναγείρεται.² οἱ δὲ τύραννοι οὐ μάλα ἀμφὶ θεωρίας ἔχουσιν. οὕτε γάρ ἔναι αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλὲς ὅπου μὴ κρείττονες τῶν παρόντων μέλλουσιν ἔσεσθαι, οὕτε τὰ οἴκοι κεκτηνται ἔχυρά, ὥστε ἄλλοις παρακαταθεμένους ἀποδημεῖν. φοβερὸν γάρ, μὴ ἄμα στερηθῶσι τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἀδύνατοι γένωνται τιμωρήσασθαι τοὺς
- 13 ἀδικήσαντας. εἴποις οὖν ἂν ἵσως σύ, 'Αλλ' ἄρα ἔρχεται αὐτοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ οἴκοι μένουσι. Ιαὶ μὰ Δία, ὡς Σιμωνίδη, ὀλίγα γε τῶν πολλῶν καὶ ταῦτα τοιαῦτα ὄντα οὗτω τίμια πωλεῖται τοῖς τυράννοις, ὥστε οἱ ἐπιδεικνύμενοι καὶ ὀτιοῦν ἀξιοῦσι πολλαπλάσια λαβόντες ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ ἀτείαι ταρὰ τοῦ τυράννου ἡ δσα ἐν παντὶ τῷ βίῳ παρὰ τάντων τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων κτῶνται.
- 14 Καὶ ὁ Σιμωνίδης εἶπεν 'Αλλ' εἰ τοῖς θεάμασι μειονεκτεῖτε, διά γέ τοι τῆς ἀκοῆς πλεονεκτεῖτε. ἐτεὶ τοῦ μὲν ἰδίστου ἀκροάματος, ἐπαίνου, οὐτοτε στανίζετε· τάντες γάρ οἱ παρόντες ὑμῖν τάίτα καὶ δσα ἀν λέγητε καὶ δσα ἀν ποιῆτε ἐταιροῦσι. τοῦ δ' αὐχαλεπωτάτου ἀκροάματος, λοιδορίας, ἀτίκοοι ἔστε· οὐδεὶς γάρ ἐθέλει τύρανον κατ' ὄφθαλμοὺς κακηγορεῖν.³
- 15 Καὶ ὁ Ἰέρων εἶτε, Καὶ τί οἰει, ἔφη, τοὺς μὴ

¹ ² Lenklau · τὰ Σαυρρε with the MS; and Stobaeus.

"In the first place, then, taking the objects that we perceive by means of vision, I find by calculation that in regard to sight seeing, despots are worse off. In every land there are things worth seeing and in search of these private citizens visit any city they choose, and attend the national festivals, where all things reputed to be most worth seeing are assembled. But despots are not at all concerned with missions to shows. For it is risky for them to go where they will be no stronger than the crowd, and their property at home is too insecure to be left in charge of others while they are abroad. For they fear to lose their throne, and at the same time to be unable to take vengeance on the authors of the wrong. Perhaps you may say 'But, after all, such spectacles come to them even if they stay at home.' No, no, Simonides, only one in a hundred such, and what there are of them are offered to despots at a price so exorbitant that showmen who exhibit some trifle expect to leave the court in an hour with far more money than they get from all the rest of the world in a lifetime."

"Ah," said Simonides, "but if you are worse off in the matter of sight seeing the sense of hearing, you know, gives you the advantage. Praise, the sweetest of all sounds is never lacking for all your courtiers praise everything you do and every word you utter. Abuse on the contrary, that note ten he of sounds is never in your ears for no one likes to speak evil of a despot in his presence."

And what pleasure," said Hiero, "can this be?"

¹ οὐδέ περι τοῦ κλαυ στηρίκεται τοῦ μετανοίας
MSS. ad 1. 12. 2. 2.

² οὐδέ περι στηρίκεται τοῦ μετανοίας
στηρίκεται τοῦ μετανοίας

λέγοντας κακῶς εὐφραίνειν, ὅταν εἰδῆ τις σαφῶς,
ὅτι οἱ σιωπῶντες οὗτοι πάντα κακὰ νοοῦσι τῷ
τυράννῳ; ἡ τοὺς ἐπαινοῦντας τί δοκεῖς εὐφραί-
νειν, ὅταν ὑποπτοι ὡσιν ἔνεκα τοῦ κολακεύειν
τοὺς ἐπαίνους ποιεῖσθαι;

16 Καὶ ὁ Σιμωνίδης εἶπε· Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ναὶ μὰ
τὸν Δία ἔγωγέ σοι, Ἱέρων, πάνυ συγχωρῶ, τοὺς
ἐπαίνους παρὰ τῶν ἐλευθερωτάτων ἥδιστους εἶναι.
ἀλλ', ὄρᾳς, ἐκεῖνό γε οὐκ ἀν ἔτι πείσαις ἀνθρώπων
οὐδένα, ως οὐχὶ δι' ὧν τρεφόμεθα οἱ ἀνθρώποι,
πολὺ πλείω ὑμεῖς ἐν αὐτοῖς εὐφραίνεσθε.

17 Καὶ οἰδά γε, ἔφη, ὁ Σιμωνίδης, ὅτι τούτῳ
κρίνουσιν οἱ πλεῖστοι ἥδιον ἡμᾶς καὶ πίνειν
καὶ ἐσθίειν τῶν ἴδιωτῶν, ὅτι δοκοῦσι καὶ αὐτοὶ
ἥδιον ἀν δειπνῆσαι τὸ ἡμῖν παρατιθέμενον
δεῖπνον η τὸ ἑαυτοῖς τὸ γάρ τὰ εἰωθότα ὑπερ-

18 βάλλον, τοῦτο παρέχει τὰς ἥδονάς. διὸ καὶ
πάντες ἀνθρώποι ἥδεως προσδέχονται τὰς ἑορτὰς
πλὴν οἱ τύραννοι· ἐκπλεω γάρ αὐτοῖς ἀεὶ παρε-
σκευασμέναι οὐδεμίαν ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς ἔχουσιν αἱ
τράπεζαι αὐτῶν ἐπίδοσιν· ὥστε ταύτη πρῶτον
τῇ εὐφροσύνῃ τῆς ἐλπίδος μειονεκτοῦσι τῶν

19 ἴδιωτῶν. ἐπειτα δ', ἔφη, ἐκεῖνο εὐ οἴδ' ὅτι καὶ
σὺ ἐμπειρος εἶ, ὅτι ὅσῳ ἀν πλείω τις παραθῆται
τὰ περιττὰ τῶν ἴκανῶν, τοσούτῳ θάττον κόρος
ἐμπίπτει τῆς ἐδωδῆς· ὥστε καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς
ἥδονῆς μειονεκτεῖ ὁ παρατιθέμενος πολλὰ τῶν
μετρίως διαιτωμένων.

20 Ἀλλὰ ναὶ μὰ Δί, ἔφη ὁ Σιμωνίδης, ὅσον ἀν
χρόνον η ψυχὴ προσίηται, τοῦτον πολὺ μᾶλλον
ἥδονται οἱ ταῖς πολυτελεστέραις παρασκευαῖς
τρεφόμενοι τῶν τὰ εὐτελέστερα παρατιθεμένων.

you suppose, of this shrinking from evil words, when one knows well that all harbour evil thoughts against the despot, in spite of their silence? Or what pleasure comes of this praise, do you think, when the praises sound suspiciously like flattery?"

"Well yes," replied Simonides, "in this of course 16 I agree with you entirely, Hiero, that praise from the freest is sweetest. But this, now, you will not persuade anyone to believe, that the things which support human life do not yield you a far greater number of pleasures."

"Yes, Simonides, and I know that the reason 17 why most men judge that we have more enjoyment in eating and drinking than private citizens is this, they think that they themselves would find the dinner served at our table better eating than what they get. Anything, in fact, that is better than what they are accustomed to gives them pleasure. This is why all men look forward to the festivals, 18 except the despots. For their table is always laden with plenty, and admits of no extras on feast days. Here then is one pleasure in respect of which they are worse off than the private citizen, the pleasure of anticipation. But further, your own experience tells 19 you, I am sure, that the greater the number of superfluous dishes set before a man, the sooner a feeling of repletion comes over him, and so, as regards the duration of his pleasure too, the man who has many courses put before him is worse off than the moderate liver.

"But surely," said Simonides, "so long as the 20 appetite holds out, the man who dines at the costlier banquet has far more pleasure than he who is served with the cheaper meal."

δισίων μόνον ύμιν ἀπολαύσεις τοῦ τυραννεῖν τὰς ἐπιθυμίας παρέχειν· ἐν γὰρ τούτῳ ἔξεστιν ύμιν ὅ τι ἀν κάλλιστον ἴδητε τούτῳ συνεῖναι.

7 Νῦν δή, ἔφη ὁ Ἰέρων, εἰρηκας ἐν ὧ γε, σάφ' ἵσθι, μειουνεκτοῦμεν τῶν ἴδιωτῶν. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ γάμος ὁ μὲν ἐκ μειζόνων δήπου καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ δυνάμει κάλλιστος δοκεῖ εἶναι καὶ παρέχειν τινὰ τῷ γήμαντι φιλοτιμίαν μεθ' ἡδονῆς. δεύτερος δ' ὁ ἐκ τῶν ὅμοίων· ὁ δ' ἐκ τῶν φαυλοτέρων 28 πάνυ ἄτιμός τε καὶ ἄχρηστος νομίζεται. τῷ τοίνυν τυράννῳ, ἀν μὴ ξένην γήμη, ἀνάγκη ἐκ μειόνων γαμεῖν, ὥστε τὸ ἀγαπητὸν οὐ πάνυ αὐτῷ παραγίγνεται. πολὺ δὲ καὶ αἱ θεραπεῖαι αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν μέγιστον φρονουσῶν γυναικῶν εὐφραίνουσι μᾶλιστα, αἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν δούλων παροῦσας μὲν οὐδέν τι ἀγαπῶνται, ἐὰν δέ τι ἐλλείπωσι, δεινὰς ὄργας καὶ λύπας ἐμποιοῦσιν.

29 Ἐν δὲ τοῖς παιδικοῖς ἀφροδισίοις ἔτι αὖ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἡ ἐν τοῖς τεκνοποιοῖς μειουνεκτεῖν τῶν εὐφροσυνῶν ὁ τύραννος. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ τὰ μετ' ἔρωτος ἀφροδίσια πολὺ διαφερόντως εὐφραίνει, 30 πάντες δήπου ἐπιστάμεθα. ὁ δὲ ἔρως πολὺ αὖ ἐθέλει ἡκιστα τῷ τυράννῳ ἐγγίγνεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ τῶν ἑτοίμων ἡδεται ὁ ἔρως ἐφιέμενος, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐλπιζομένων. ὥσπερ οὖν οὐκ ἄν¹ τις ἄπειρος ὁν δίψους τοῦ πιεῖν ἀπολαύοι, οὕτω καὶ ὁ ἄπειρος ὁν ἔρωτος ἄπειρός ἐστι τῶν ἡδίστων ἀφροδισίων.

31 Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἰέρων οὗτος εἶπεν. ὁ δὲ Σιμωνίδης ἐπιγελάσας, Πῶς λέγεις, ἔφη, ὦ Ἰέρων; τυράννῳ οὐ φῆς παιδικῶν ἔρωτας ἐμφύεσθαι; πῶς μὴν

¹ οὐκ ἐν Stephanus: «I S. with the MSS. and Stobaeus.

satisfaction of the carnal appetites were the only motive that produces in you the craving for despotism For in this matter you are free to enjoy the fairest that meets your eye

"I assure you that we are worse off than private citizens in the matter to which you now refer First take marriage It is commonly held that a marriage into a family of greater wealth and influence is most honourable, and is a source of pride and pleasure to the bridegroom Next to that comes a marriage with equals A marriage with inferiors is considered positively degrading and useless Now unless a despotic master marries a foreign girl, he is bound to marry beneath him, and so the thing to be desired does not come his way And where is it is exceedingly pleasant to receive the attentions of the proudest of ladies, the attentions of slaves are quite unappreciated when shown, and any little shortcomings produce grievous outbursts of anger and annoyance

"In his relations with favourites, again, even much more than in his relations with women, the despotic master is at a disadvantage We all know, I suppose, that passion increases the sweets of love beyond measure Passion, however, is very shy of entering the heart of a despotic master, for passion is fain to desire not the easy prize, but the hoped for joy Therefore, just as a man who is a stranger to thirst can get no satisfaction out of drinking, so he who is a stranger to passion is a stranger to love's sweetest pleasures'

To this speech of Hiero's Simonides replied, laughing

"How say you, Hiero? You deny that passion springs up in a despotic heart? Then how about

συ, ἔφη, ἐρᾶς Δαιλόχου τοῦ καλλίστου ἐπικαλουμένου;

- 32 "Οτι μὰ τὸν Δῆ, ἔφη, ὁ Σιμωνίδη, οὐ τοῦ ἑτοίμου παρ' αὐτοῦ δοκοῦντος εἴναι τυχεῖν τούτου μάλιστα ἐπιθυμῶ, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἥκιστα τυράννῳ
 33 προσήκοντος κατεργάσασθαι. ἐγὼ γάρ δὴ ἐρῶ μὲν Δαιλόχου ὡνπερ ἵσως ἀναγκάζει ή φύσις ἀνθρώπου δεῖσθαι παρὰ τῶν καλῶν, τούτων δὲ ὅν ἐρῶ τυχεῖν, μετὰ μὲν φιλίας καὶ παρὰ βουλομένου πάνυ ισχυρῶς ἐπιθυμῶ τυγχάνειν, βίᾳ δὲ λαμβάνειν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἥττον ἄν μοι δοκῶ
 34 ἐπιθυμεῖν η̄ ἐμαυτὸν κακόν τι ποιεῖν. παρὰ μὲν γάρ πολεμίων ἀκόντων λαμβάνειν πάντων ἥδιστον ἔγωγε νομίζω εἶναι, παρὰ δὲ παιδικῶν βουλομένων
 35 ἥδισται οἷμαι αἱ χάριτές εἰσιν. εὐθὺς γάρ παρὰ τοῦ ἀντιφιλοῦντος ἥδεῖαι μὲν αἱ ἀντιβλέψεις, ἥδεῖαι δὲ αἱ ἐρωτήσεις, ἥδεῖαι δὲ αἱ ἀποκρίσεις, ἥδισται δὲ καὶ ἐπαφροδιτόταται αἱ μάχαι τε
 36 καὶ ἕριδες· τὸ δὲ ἀκόντων παιδικῶν ἀπολαύειν λεηλασία, ἔφη, ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ ἐοικέναι μᾶλλον η̄ ἀφροδισίοις. καίτοι τῷ μὲν ληστῇ παρέχει τινὰς ὅμως ἥδουνάς τό τε κέρδος καὶ τὸ ἀγιάν τὸν ἔχθρόν· τὸ δὲ οὐ ἄν ἐρᾷ τις τούτῳ ἥδεσθαι ἀνιωμένῳ καὶ φιλοῦντα μισεῖσθαι καὶ ἀπτεσθαι ἀχθομένου πῶς οὐχὶ τοῦτο ἥδη δυσχερὲς τὸ
 37 πάθημα καὶ οἰκτρόν; καὶ γάρ δὴ τῷ μὲν ἰδιώτῃ εὐθὺς τεκμήριόν ἔστιν, ὅταν ὁ ἐρώμενός τι ὑπουργῆ, ὅτι ὡς φιλῶν χαρίζεται, διὰ τὸ εἰδέναι, ὅτι οὐδεμιᾶς ἀνάγκης οὖσης ὑπηρετεῖ, τῷ δὲ τυράννῳ οὕποτ' ἔστι πιστεῦσαι, ὡς φιλεῖται.
 38 ἐπιστάμεθα γάρ τοὺς¹ διὰ φόβου ὑπηρετοῦντας ὡς η̄ μάλιστ' ἄν δύνωνται ἔξεικάζουσιν αὐτοὺς

your passion for Dalochus, whom they call most fair?"

"Why, Simonides, the explanation, of course, is this I desire to get from him not what I may have, apparently, for the asking, but that which a despot should be the last to take. The fact is, I desire of Dalochus just that which human nature, maybe, drives us to ask of the fair. But what I long to get, I very strongly desire to obtain by his goodwill, and with his consent, but I think I could sooner desire to do myself an injury than to take it from him by force. For to take from an enemy against his will is, I think, the greatest of all pleasures, but favours from a loved one are very pleasant, I fancy, only when he consents. For instance, if he is in sympathy with you, how pleasant are his looks, how pleasant his questions and his answers, how very pleasant and ravishing are the struggles and bickerings. But to take advantage of a favourite against his will seems to me more like brigandage than love. Nay, your brigand finds some pleasure in his gain and in hurting his foe, but to feel pleasure in hurting one whom you love, to be hated for your affection, to disgust him by your touch, surely that is a mortifying experience and pitiful! The fact is, a private citizen has instant proof that any act of compliance on the part of his beloved is prompted by affection, since he knows that the service rendered is due to no compulsion, but the despot can never feel sure that he is loved. For we know that acts of service prompted by fear copy as closely as

όφθαλμῶν τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν πραγμάτων, τοῦτό
 6 μοι δοκεῖ θαυμαστὸν εἶναι. ἐγὼ δὲ πεπειραμένος
 σαφῶς οἶδα, ὃ Σιμωνίδη, καὶ λέγω σοι, ὅτι οἱ
 τύραννοι τῶν μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν ἐλάχιστα μετέ-
 χουσι, τῶν δὲ μεγίστων κακῶν πλεῖστα κέκτην-
 7 ται. αὐτίκα γὰρ εἰ μὲν εἰρήνη δοκεῖ μέγα
 ἀγαθὸν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἶναι, ταύτης ἐλάχιστον
 τοῖς τυράννοις μέτεστιν· εἰ δὲ πόλεμος μέγα
 κακόν, τούτου πλεῖστον μέρος οἱ τύραννοι μετέ-
 8 χουσιν. εὐθὺς γὰρ τοῖς μὲν ἴδιώταις, ἀν μὴ ἡ
 πόλις αὐτῶν κοινὸν πόλεμον πολεμῆ, ἔξεστιν
 9 ὅποι ἀν βούλωνται πορεύεσθαι μηδὲν φοβου-
 μένους, μή τις αὐτοὺς ἀποκτείνῃ, οἱ δὲ τύραννοι
 πάντες πανταχῇ ὡς διὰ πολεμίας πορεύονται.
 αὐτοὶ τε γοῦν ὠπλισμένοι οἴονται ἀνάγκην εἶναι
 διάγειν καὶ ἄλλους ὀπλοφόρους ἀεὶ συμπεριάγε-
 9 σθαι.

Ἐπειτα δὲ οἱ μὲν ἴδιῶται, ἐὰν καὶ στρα-
 τεύωνται ποι εἰς πολεμίαν, ἀλλ' οὖν ἐπειδάν
 γε ἐλθωσιν οἴκαδε, ἀσφάλειαν σφίσιν ἥγοῦνται
 εἶναι, οἱ δὲ τύραννοι ἐπειδὰν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν
 πόλιν ἀφίκωνται, τότε ἐν πλείστοις πολεμίοις
 10 ἵσασιν ὅντες. ἐὰν δὲ δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι στρατεύωσιν
 εἰς τὴν πόλιν κρείττονες, ἐὰν ἔξω τοῦ τείχους
 ὅντες οἱ ἥττονες ἐν κινδύνῳ δοκῶσιν εἶναι, ἀλλ'
 ἐπειδάν γε εἴσω τοῦ ἐρύματος ἐλθωσιν, ἐν
 ἀσφαλείᾳ πάντες νομίζουσι καθεοστάναι, ὁ δὲ
 τύραννος οὐδὲ ἐπειδὰν εἴσω τῆς οἰκίας παρέλθῃ
 11 ἐν ἀκινδύνῳ ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα δὴ καὶ μάλιστα
 φυλακτέον οἴεται εἶναι. ἐπειτα τοῖς μὲν ἴδιώταις
 καὶ διὰ σπουδῶν καὶ δι' εἰρήνης γίγνεται πολέμου
 ἀνάπαυσις, τοῖς δὲ τυράννοις οὔτε εἰρήνη ποτὲ

most things than your eyes, should be equally blind to it. But I know well enough by experience, Simonides, and I tell you that despots get the smallest share of the greatest blessings, and have most of the greatest evils. Thus, for instance, if 7 peace is held to be a great blessing to mankind, very little of it falls to the share of despots. If war is a great evil, of that despots receive the largest share. To begin with, so long as their state is not 8 engaged in a war in which all take part, private citizens are free to go wherever they choose without fear of being killed. But all despots move everywhere as in an enemy's country, at any rate they think they are bound to wear arms continually themselves, and to take an armed escort about with them at all times.

"Secondly, in the event of an expedition against 9 an enemy's country, private citizens at least think themselves safe as soon as they have come home. But when despots reach their own city, they know that they are now among more enemies than ever. Again, suppose that strangers invade their city in 10 superior force, true, the weaker are conscious of danger while they are outside the walls, yet once they are inside the fortress, all feel themselves bestowed in safety. But the despot is not out of danger even when he passes within the palace gates, nay, it is just there that he thinks he must walk most warily. Once again, to private citizens a 11 truce or peace brings rest from war, but despots are never at peace with the people subject to their

άμα πράττων, ὡς οὐκ ἀδικῶι τετοίηκει. οὗτως
 18 οὐδ' αὐτῷ δοκεῖ καλὰ τὰ τοιούμεια εἶναι καὶ
 ὅταν ἀποθάνωσιν οὗς ἐφοβήθη, οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον
 τούτου θαρρεῖ, ἀλλὰ φυλάττεται ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ
 τρόσθεν. καὶ τόλεμον μὲρι δὴ τοιοῦτον ἔχων
 διατελεῖ ὁ τυραιώς, ὃν ἐγὼ δηλῶ.

III. Φιλίας δὲ αὖ καταθέασαι ώς κοινωιοῦσιν
 οἱ τύραιοι. τρῶτοι μὲρι εἰ μεγαλούσιν ἀνθρώποις
 2 τοις ἡ φιλία, τοῦτο ἐπισκεψώμεθα. ὃς γὰρ ἀν
 φιλῆται δητούντος ὑπό τινων, ηδεως μὲν τοῦτον οἱ
 φιλοῦντες παρόντα ορῶσιν, ηδέως δὲ εὖ τοιοῦσι,
 τοθοῦσι δέ, ἂν του ἀτῆ, ηδιστα δὲ πάλιν
 προσιόντα δέχοιται, συνηδονται δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ
 3 ἀγαθοῖς, συιετικουροῦσι δέ, ἐάν τι σφαλλόμενον
 ὄρωσιν οὐ μὲν δὴ λέληθεν οὐδὲ τὰς τόλεις, ὅτι
 ἡ φιλία μέγιστοι ἀγαθοι καὶ ιδιοτον ἀνθρώποις
 4 ἐστί μόνους γοῦν τους μοιχους νομίζουσι τολ
 λαὶ τῶν πολεων νητοιν ἀποκτείνειν, δῆλον ὅτι
 διὰ ταῦτα ὅτι λυμαντῆρας αὐτοὺς νομίζουσι τῆς
 τῶι γυναικῶν φιλίας πρὸς τοὺς ἀνδρας εἶναι
 5 ἐπεὶ ὅταν γε ἀφροδισιασθῇ κατὰ συμφοράν τινα
 γυνη, οὐδεν ἡτον τούτου ἔνεκεν τιμῶσιν αὐτὰς οἱ
 ἀνδρες, ἐάνπερ ἡ φιλία δοκῇ αὐταῖς ἀκήρατος
 6 διαμένειν τοσοῦτον δέ τι ἀγαθὸν κρίνω ἔγωγε
 το φιλεῖσθαι εἶναι, ὥστε ιομίζω τῷ δυτὶ αὐτόματα
 τάγαθὰ τῷ φιλουμένῳ γίγνεσθαι καὶ παρὰ θεῶν
 καὶ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων.

6 Καὶ τούτου τοίνυν τοῦ κτήματος τοιούτου δυτος
 μειονεκτοῦσιν οἱ τύραννοι πάντων μάλιστα εἰ

¹ *Cytopried a 1 vL 24*

² *Is* should be rendered "though," not "since" here,

wrong in what he has done, so far are his deeds from seeming honourable even to himself. Even 18 the death of those whom he feared does not restore him to confidence; he is yet more on his guard afterwards than before. And now I have shown you the kind of war that a despot wages continually.

III. "Turn next to friendship, and behold how despots share in it First let us consider whether friendship is a great blessing to mankind When a 2 man is loved by friends, I take it, they rejoice at his presence, delight to do him good, miss him when he is absent, greet him most joyfully on his return, rejoice with him in his good fortune, unite in aiding him when they see him tripping¹ Even states are 3 not blind to the fact that friendship is a very great blessing, and very delightful to men. At any rate, many states have a law that adulterers only may be put to death with impunity, obviously for this reason, because they believe them to be destroyers of the wife's friendship with her husband, although,² 4 when a woman's lapse is the result of some accident, husbands do not honour their wives any less on that account, provided that wives seem to reserve their affection unblemished In my judgment, to be 5 loved is a blessing so precious that I believe good things fall literally *of themselves* on him who is loved from gods and men alike

"Such, then, is the nature of this possession—a 6 possession wherein despots above all other men are

for it introduces a reason why one might suppose that there would be some restriction on the right to kill an adulterer, and not the reason why all adulterers may be killed with impunity Compare, for instance, Plato, *Iatologoras*, 335 a. The "accident" is, of course, rape.

δὲ βούλει, ὡς Σιμωνίδη, εἰδέναι, ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω,
 7 ὡδε ἐπίσκεψαι. Βεβαιόταται μὲν γὰρ δήπου
 δοκοῦσι φιλίαι εἶναι γονεῦσι πρὸς παῖδας καὶ
 παισὶ πρὸς γονέας καὶ ἀδελφοῖς πρὸς ἀδελφοὺς
 8 καὶ γυναιξὶ πρὸς ἄνδρας καὶ ἑταίροις πρὸς
 ἑταίρους. εἰ τοίνυν ἐθέλεις κατανοεῖν, εύρήσεις
 μὲν τοὺς ἴδιώτας ὑπὸ τούτων μάλιστα φίλου-
 μένους, τοὺς δὲ τυράννους πολλοὺς μὲν παῖδας
 ἔαυτῶν ἀπεκτονότας, πολλοὺς δὲ ἀδελφοὺς ἐν
 αὐτοὺς ἀπολωλότας, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀδελφοὺς
 9 δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ γυναικῶν τῶν ἔαυτῶν τυράννους
 διεφθαρμένους καὶ ὑπὸ ἑταίρων γε τῷ μάλιστα
 δοκούντων φίλων εἶναι. οἵτινες οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν
 φύσει πεφυκότων μάλιστα φίλειν καὶ νόμῳ
 συνηναγκασμένων οὕτω μισοῦνται, πῶς ὑπ' ἄλλου
 γέ τινος οἰεσθαι χρὴ αὐτοὺς φίλεισθαι;

IV. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ πίστεως δοτις ἐλάχιστον
 μετέχει, πῶς οὐχὶ μεγάλον ἀγαθοῦ μειονεκτεῖ;
 ποία μὲν γὰρ συνουσία ἡδεῖα ἄνευ πίστεως τῆς
 πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ποία δὲ ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικὶ τερπνὴ
 2 ἄνευ πίστεως ὄμιλία, ποῖος δὲ θεράπων ἡδὺς
 ἀπιστούμενος; καὶ τούτου τοίνυν τοῦ πιστῶς
 πρὸς τινας ἔχειν ἐλάχιστον μέτεστι τυράννῳ
 ὅπότε γε οὐδὲ σιτίοις καὶ ποτοῖς πιστεύων διάγει,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων, πρὶν ἀπάρχεσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς,
 τοὺς διακόνους πρῶτον κελεύοντιν ἀπογεύσασθαι
 διὰ τὸ ἀπιστεῖν, μὴ καὶ ἐν τούτοις κακόν τι
 3 φάγωσιν ἢ πίωσιν. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ αἱ πατρίδες
 τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις πλείστους ἄξιαι.
 πολῖται γὰρ δορυφοροῦσι μὲν ἀλλήλους ἄνευ
 μισθοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς δούλους, δορυφοροῦσι δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς

stinted. If you want to know that I am speaking the truth, Simonides, consider the question in this way. The firmest friendships, I take it, are supposed to be those that unite parents to children, children to parents, wives to husbands, comrades to comrades. Now you will find, if you will but observe, that private citizens are, in fact, loved most deeply by these. But what of despots? Many have slain their own children, many have themselves been murdered by their children, many brothers, partners in despotism, have perished by each other's hand, many have been destroyed even by their own wives,¹ aye, and by comrades whom they accounted their closest friends. Seeing, then, that they are so hated by those who are bound by natural ties and constrained by custom to love them most, how are we to suppose that they are loved by any other being?

IV "Next take confidence. Surely he who has very little of that is stinted in a great blessing? What companionship is pleasant without mutual trust? What intercourse between husband and wife is delightful without confidence? What squire is pleasant if he is not trusted? Now of this confidence in others despots enjoy the smallest share. They go in constant suspicion even of their meat and drink, they bid their servitors taste them first, before the libation is offered to the gods, because of their misgiving that they may sup poison in the dish or the bowl. Again, to all other men their fatherland is very precious. For citizens ward one another without pay from their slaves and from

¹ See Introduction

- κακούργους ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδένα τῶν πολιτῶν βιαίφ
 4 θανάτῳ ἀποθυήσκειν. οὗτω δὲ πόρρω προεληλύ-
 θασι φυλακῆς, ὥστε πεποίηνται πολλοὶ νόμον τῷ
 μιαιφόνῳ μηδὲ τὸν συνόντα καθαρεύειν· ὥστε διὰ
 τὰς πατρίδας ἀσφαλῶς ἔκαστος βιοτεύει τῶν
 5 πολιτῶν. τοῖς δὲ τυράννοις καὶ τοῦτο ἔμπαλιν
 ἀνέστραπται. ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ τιμωρεῖν αὐτοῖς αἱ
 πόλεις μεγάλως τιμῶσι τὸν ἀποκτείναντα τὸν
 τύραννον, καὶ ἀντὶ γε τοῦ εἵργειν ἐκ τῶν Ἱερῶν,
 ὥσπερ τοὺς τῶν ἴδιωτῶν φονέας, ἀντὶ τούτου καὶ
 εἰκόνας ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἴστασιν αἱ πόλεις τῶν τοῦτο
 ποιησάντων.
- 6 Εἴ δὲ σὺ οἶει, ὡς πλείω ἔχων τῶν ἴδιωτῶν κτῆ-
 ματα ὁ τύραννος διὰ τοῦτο καὶ πλείω ἀπ' αὐτῶν
 εὐφραίνεται, οὐδὲ τοῦτο οὕτως ἔχει, ὡς Σιμωνίδη,
 ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ ἀθληταὶ οὐχ ὅταν ἴδιωτῶν γένων-
 ται κρείττονες, τοῦτ' αὐτοὺς εὐφραίνει, ἀλλ' ὅταν
 τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν ἡττους, τοῦτ' αὐτοὺς ἀνιᾶ,
 οὗτω καὶ ὁ τύραννος οὐχ ὅταν τῶν ἴδιωτῶν πλείω
 φαίνηται ἔχων, τότ' εὐφραίνεται, ἀλλ' ὅταν ἔτε-
 ρων τυράννων ἐλάττῳ ἔχῃ, τούτῳ λυπεῖται· τού-
 τους γὰρ ἀνταγωνιστὰς ἥγεῖται αὐτῷ τοῦ πλούτου
 7 εἶναι. οὐδέ γε θᾶττόν τι γίγνεται τῷ τυράννῳ ἡ
 τῷ ἴδιώτῃ ὡν ἐπιθυμεῖ. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἴδιώτης οἰκίας ἡ
 ἀγροῦ ἡ οἰκέτου ἐπιθυμεῖ, ὁ δὲ τύραννος ἡ πόλεων
 ἡ χώρας πολλῆς ἡ λιμένων ἡ ἀκροπόλεων ἵσχυ-
 ρῶν, ἡ ἐστι πολὺ χαλεπώτερα καὶ ἐπικινδυνότερα
 κατεργάσασθαι τῶν ἴδιωτικῶν ἐπιθυμημάτων.
 8 ἀλλὰ μέντοι καὶ πένητας δψει¹ οὕτως ὀλίγους
 τῶν ἴδιωτῶν ὡς πολλοὺς τῶν τυράννων. οὐ γὰρ
 τῷ ἀριθμῷ οὔτε τὰ πολλὰ κρίνεται οὔτε τὰ

evildoers, to the end that none of the citizens may perish by a violent death. They have gone so far in measures of precaution that many have made a law whereby even the companion of the bloodguilty is deemed impure, and so—thanks to the fatherland—every citizen lives in security. But for despots the position is the reverse in this case too. Instead of avenging them, the cities heap honours on the slayer of the despot, and, whereas they exclude the murderers of private persons from the temples, the cities so far from treating assassins in the same manner, actually put up statues of them in the holy places.

"If you suppose that just because he has more possessions than the private citizen, the despot gets more enjoyment out of them, this is not so either, Simonides. Trained athletes feel no pleasure when they prove superior to amateurs, but they are cut to the quick when they are beaten by a rival athlete, in like manner the despot feels no pleasure when he is seen to possess more than private citizens, but is vexed when he has less than other despots, for he regards them as his rivals in wealth. Nor even does the despot gain the object of his desire any quicker than the private citizen. For the private citizen desires a house or a farm or a servant, but the despot covets cities or wide territory or harbours or strong citadels, and these are far more difficult and perilous to acquire than the objects that attract the citizen. And, moreover, you will find that even poverty is rarer among private citizens than among despots. For much and little are to be measured not

¹ οὐκ οὐκ S with the MSS and Stobaeus οὐκ was removed by Breml.

ολίγα,¹ ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰς χρήσεις· ὥστε τὰ μὲν ὑπερβάλλοντα τὰ ίκανὰ πολλά ἔστι, τὰ δὲ τῶν 9 ίκανῶν ἐλλείποντα ὀλίγα. τῷ οὖν τυράννῳ τὰ πολλαπλάσια ἡττον ίκανά ἔστιν εἰς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα δαπανήματα ἢ τῷ ἴδιώτῃ. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἴδιώταις ἔξεστι τὰς δαπάνας συντέμνειν εἰς τὰ καθ' ήμέραν, ὅπη βούλονται, τοῖς δὲ τυράννοις οὐκ ἐνδέχεται. αἱ γὰρ μέγισται αὐτοῖς δαπάναι καὶ ἀναγκαιόταται εἰς τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς φυλακάς εἰσι· τὸ δὲ τούτων συντέμνειν ὅλεθρος δοκεῖ εἶναι. 10 ἔπειτα δὲ ὅσοι μὲν δύνανται ἔχειν ἀπὸ τοῦ δικαίου ὅσων δέονται, τί ἀν τούτους οἰκτέροι τις ὁ πένητας; ὅσοι δ' ἀναγκάζονται δι' ἔνδειαν κακόν τι καὶ αἰσχρὸν μηχανώμενοι ζῆν, πῶς οὐ τούτους 11 ἀθλίους ἀν τις καὶ πένητας δικαίως καλοίη; οἱ τύραννοι τοίνυν ἀναγκάζονται πλεῖστα συλλαν ἀδίκως καὶ ἰερὰ καὶ ἀνθρώπους διὰ τὸ εἰς τὰς ἀναγκαῖας δαπάνας ἀεὶ προσδεῖσθαι χρημάτων. ὥσπερ γὰρ πολέμου ὅντος ἀεὶ ἀναγκάζονται στράτευμα τρέφειν ἢ ἀπολωλέναι.

V. Χαλεπὸν δ' ἐρῶ σοι καὶ ἄλλο πάθημα, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, τῶν τυράννων. γιγνώσκουσι μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἡττον τῶν ἴδιωτῶν τοὺς ἀλκίμους² τε καὶ σοφοὺς καὶ δικαίους. τούτους δ' ἀντὶ τοῦ ἄγασθαι φοβοῦνται, τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρείους, μὴ τι τολμήσωσι τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἔνεκεν, τοὺς δὲ σοφούς, μὴ τι μηχανήσωνται, τοὺς δὲ δικαίους, μὴ ἐπιθυμήσῃ 2 τὸ πλῆθος ὑπὸ αὐτῶν προστατεῖσθαι. ὅταν δὲ τοὺς τοιούτους διὰ τὸν φόβον ὑπεξαιρῶνται, τίνες ἄλλοι αὐτοῖς καταλείπονται χρῆσθαι ἀλλ' ἢ οἱ ἀδικοί τε καὶ ἀκρατεῖς καὶ ἄνδραποδώδεις; οἱ μὲν ἀδικοὶ πιστευόμενοι, διότι φοβοῦνται ὥσπερ

by number, but in relation to the owner's needs, so that what is more than enough is much, and what is less than enough is little. Therefore, the ⁹ despot with his abundance of wealth has less to meet his necessary expenses than the private citizen. For while private citizens can cut down the daily expenditure as they please, despots cannot, since the largest items in their expenses and the most essential are the sums they spend on the life-guards, and to curtail any of these means ruin. Besides, when men ¹⁰ can have all they need by honest means, why pity them as though they were poor? May not those who through want of money are driven to evil and unseemly expedients in order to live, more justly be accounted wretched and poverty-stricken? Now, ¹¹ despots are not seldom forced into the crime of robbing temples and their fellow men through chronic want of cash to meet their necessary expenses. Living, as it were, in a perpetual state of war, they are forced to maintain an army, or they perish.

V "Despots are oppressed by yet another trouble, Simonides, which I will tell you of. They recognize a stout hearted, a wise or an upright man as easily as private citizens do. But instead of admiring such men, they fear them,—the brave lest they strike a bold stroke for freedom, the wise lest they hatch a plot, the upright lest the people desire them for leaders. When they get rid of such ² men through fear, who are left for their use, save only the unrighteous, the vicious and the servile,—the unrighteous being trusted because, like the

¹ δλῆγα Coppello. Ikard S with the MSS and Stobaeus

² ἀκίνητος Stobaeus κορυφῶν S with the MSS

οἱ τύραννοι τὰς πόλεις μήποτε ἐλεῖθεραι γειόμεναι ἐγκρατεῖς αὐτῶν γίνωσται, οἱ δὲ ἀκρατεῖς τῆς εἰς τὸ ταρὸν ἔξουσίας ἔισκα, οἱ δὲ ἀνδραποδώδεις διότι οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ ἀξιοῦσιν ἐλεῖθεροι εἴναι. χαλεπὸν οὖν καὶ τοῦτο τὸ πάθημα ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ εἶναι, τὸ ἄλλους μὲν ἡγεῖσθαι ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας, ἄλλοις δὲ χρῆσθαι ἀναγκάζεσθαι.

3 ὜τι δὲ φιλόπολιν μὲν ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸν τύραννον εἴναι· αἱεν γὰρ τῆς πόλεως οὗτ' ἀν σώζεσθαι δύταιτο οὗτ' ἀν εὐδαιμονεῖν· ή δὲ τυραννὸς ἀναγκάζει καὶ ταῖς ἑαυτῶν πατρίσιν ἐγκαλεῖν. οὔτε γὰρ ἀλκίμους οὗτ' εὐόπλους χαίρουσι τοὺς πολίτας παρασκευάζοντες, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ξένους δεινοτέρους τῶν πολιτῶν ποιοῦντες οἵδονται μᾶλλον καὶ 4 τούτοις χρῶνταί δορυφόροις. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ ἀν εὐετηριῶν γενομένων ἀφθοία τῶν ἀγαθῶν γίγνηται, οὐδὲ τότε συγχαίρει ὁ τύραννος. ἐνδεεστέροις γὰρ οὖσι ταπεινοτέροις αὐτοῖς οἴονται χρῆσθαι.

VII. Βούλομαι δέ σοι, ἔφη, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, κακείνας τὰς εὐφροσύνας δηλῶσαι, οἵσαις ἐγὼ χρώμενος, ὅτ' ἦν ἴδιώτης, νῦν ἐπειδὴ τύραννος 2 ἐγενόμην, αἰσθάνομαι στερόμενος αὐτῶν. ἐγὼ γὰρ συνῆν μὲν ἥλικιώταις ηδομένος ηδομένοις ἐμοὶ, συνῆν δὲ ἐμαυτῷ, ὅπότε ησυχίας ἐπιθυμήσαιμι, διῆγον δὲ ἐν συμποσίοις πολλάκις μὲν μέχρι τοῦ ἐπιλαθέσθαι πάντων εἴ τι χαλεπὸν ἐν ἀνθρωπίνῳ βίῳ ἦν, πολλάκις δὲ μέχρι τοῦ φύδαις τε καὶ θαλίαις καὶ χοροῖς τὴν ψυχὴν συγκαταμηγνύναι, πολλάκις δὲ μέχρι κοίτης¹ ἐπιθυμίας 3 ἐμῆς τε καὶ τῶν παρόντων. νῦν δὲ ἀπεστέρηματ μὲν τῶν ηδομένων ἐμοὶ διὰ τὸ δούλους ἄντι φίλῶν

despots, they fear that the cities may some day shake off the yoke and prove their masters, the vicious on account of the licence they enjoy as things are, the servile because even they themselves have no desire for freedom? This too, then, is a heavy trouble, in my opinion, to see the good in some men, and yet perforce to employ others.

"Furthermore, even a despot must needs love his city, for without the city he can enjoy neither safety nor happiness. But despotism forces him to find fault even with his fatherland. For he has no pleasure in seeing that the citizens are stout-hearted and well armed; rather he delights to make the foreigners more formidable than the citizens, and these he employs as a body-guard. Again, even when favourable seasons yield abundance of good things, the despot is a stranger to the general joy; for the needier the people, the humbler he thinks to find them.

VI. "But now, Simonides," he continued, "I want to show you all those delights that were mine when I was a private citizen, but which I now find are withheld from me since the day I became a despot. I communed with my fellows then: they pleased me and I pleased them. I communed with myself whenever I desired rest. I passed the time in carousing, often till I forgot all the troubles of mortal life, often till my soul was absorbed in songs and revels and dances, often till the desire of sleep fell on me and all the company. But now I am cut off from those who had pleasure in me, since slaves

¹ κοινῆς Hermann: κοινῆς S. with the MSS.

οἱ τίραντοι τὰς τόλεις μῆτον ἐλεῖθεραι γειόμεναι ἔγερταις αὐτῶν γένονται, οἱ δὲ ἀερατεῖ· τοῦ, εἰς τὸ πρὸς ἔξοιστας τέσσας, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρας ὁδοῖς διότι οἵδε αἵτιοι ἀξιοῦσιν ἐλεῖθεροι εἰραι λαλεῖσθαι οἵ τε καὶ τοῦτο τὸ πάθημα ἐμοιγε ἕστε εἴναι, τὸ ἄλλον μὲν ἡγεῖσθαι ἀγαθοῖς ἄνδρας, ἄλλοις δὲ λρῆσθαι ἀταγειζεσθαι.

3 Τίτι δὲ ἐπιλόθολοι μὲν ἀταγηκη καὶ τὸν τίραντον εἴναι πιεν γάρ τῆς τόλεις οὗτος ἀν σώζεσθαι δύνατο οὗτος ἀν εἰδαιμονεῖν· οὐδὲ τυραννίς ἀταγλάζει καὶ ταῖς ἑαυτῷ πατρίσιν ἐγκαλεῖν. οὐτε γάρ ἀλκύμους οὗτος εἰσόθλοις χαίρουσι τοὺς πολίτας παρασκευάζοντες, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ξένους δεινοτέρους τῷ πολιτῶν ποιοῦντες ἥδοιται μᾶλλον καὶ 4 τούτοις χρῶνται δοριφόροις. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ ἀν εὐετηριῶν γειομένιων ἀφθορία τῶν ἀγαθῶν γίγνηται, οὐδὲ τότε συγχαίρει ὁ τύραντος ἐγδεεστέροις γάρ οὐσι ταπεινοτέροις αὐτοῖς οἰονται χρῆσθαι.

VII. Βούλομαι δέ σοι, ἔφη, ὁ Σιμωνίδης, καὶ κείνας τὰς εὐφροσύνας δηλῶσαι, δόσαις ἐγὼ χρώμενος, οὗτος δὲ τοῦτης, νῦν ἐπειδὴ τύραντος 2 ἐγενόμην, αἰσθάνομαι στερόμειος αὐτῶν. ἐγὼ γάρ συνῆν μὲν ἡλικιώτας ἥδομειος ἥδομένοις ἐμοί, συνῆν δὲ ἐμαυτῷ, ὅπότε ἡσυχίας ἐπιθυμήσαιμι, διῆγον δὲ ἐν συμποσίοις πολλάκις μὲν μέχρι τοῦ ἐπιλαθέσθαι πάντων εἴ τι χαλεπὸν ἐν ἀνθρωπίνῳ βίῳ ἦν, πολλάκις δε μέχρι τοῦ φόδαις τε καὶ θαλίας καὶ χοροῖς τὴν ψυχὴν συγκαταμηγνύναι, πολλάκις δὲ μέχρι κοίτης¹ ἐπιθυμίας 3 ἐμῆς τε καὶ τῶν παρόντων νῦν δὲ ἀπεστέρηματ μὲν τῶν ἥδομένων ἐμοὶ διὰ τὸ δούλους ἀντὶ φίλων

despots, they fear that the cities may some day shake off the yoke and prove their masters, the vicious on account of the licence they enjoy as things are, the servile because even they themselves have no desire for freedom? This too, then, is a heavy trouble, in my opinion, to see the good in some men, and yet perforce to employ others

"Furthermore, even a despot must needs love his city, for without the city he can enjoy neither safety nor happiness. But despotism forces him to find fault even with his fatherland. For he has no pleasure in seeing that the citizens are stout hearted and well armed, rather he delights to make the foreigners more formidable than the citizens, and these he employs as a body guard. Again, even when favourable seasons yield abundance of good things, the despot is a stranger to the general joy, for the needier the people, the humbler he thinks to find them.

VI "But now, Simonides," he continued, "I want to show you all those delights that were mine when I was a private citizen, but which I now find are withheld from me since the day I became a despot. I communed with my fellows then they pleased me and I pleased them. I communed with myself whenever I desired rest. I passed the time in carousing, often till I forgot all the troubles of mortal life, often till my soul was absorbed in songs and revels and dances, often till the desire of sleep fell on me and all the company. But now I am cut off from those who had pleasure in me, since slaves

¹ *solvere* Hermann agrees S with the MSS

ἔχει τοῖς ἔτισσοις, ἀποκαθρινά δὲ πάντος του
ἔξιν τελέσεις ἐπιλείπει δὲ τὸ μηδενίτοις ἔπεισσι
εἴτινας ἡμεῖς περὶ αὐτῶν μέλλουμεν δὲ καὶ οὐτεν
οὐδέποτε ἔτι, τὸ φιλοτεχνεῖσθαι μὲν
οὐλαρτόν, φιλοτεχνεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς φιλοτεχνεῖ-
τας καὶ μήτ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς φιλοτεχνεῖσθαι μὲν
μήτ' ὁλισμένοις ἔτινες θεῖσθαι μᾶς οἵσις ἄργα.
Δέοντος ἔστι τρίγμα: ἐτι δὲ ξένος μὲν μᾶλλον ἡ
τολίτας πατεῖειν, Καρδιάροις δὲ μᾶλλον ἡ
“Εὐληστή, ἐπιθυμεῖν δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἀλευθέρους δού-
λοις ἔχειν, τοῖς δὲ δούλοις ἀναγεῦσθαι ποιεῖν
ἀλευθέρουν, οὐ πάντα σοι ταῦτα δοκεῖ ψυχῆς ἐπὸ
ο φόβων καταπεπληγμένης τεκμήσαι εἰσαι: ὁ γέ
τοι φόβος οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς ἐνώπιον ταῖς ψυχαῖς
λιπτηρός ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων τῶν ἥδεων
συμ-αρακολούθων λυμεών γέγνεται.

7 Εἰ δὲ καὶ σὺ πολεμικῶν ἔργων εἶ, ὁ Σεμω-
νίδη, καὶ ηδη ποτὲ πολεμίᾳ φαλαγγὶ πλησίον
ἀντετάξω, ἀγαμήσθητι, ποῖον μέν τινα σῆτον
ἥροῦ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ποῖον δὲ τινα ὑπτον
εἴκοιμῶ. οἷα μέρτοι σοι τότε ην τὰ λιπτηρά, τοι-
αῦτά ἔστι τὰ τῶν τυράννων καὶ ἔτι δειρότερα οὐ
γάρ ἐξ ἐραντίας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντοθεν πολε-
μίους ὄραν νομίζουσιν οἱ τύραννοι.

8 Ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούσας ὁ Σιμωνίδης ὑπολαβὼν
εἶπεν· “Τπέρευ μοι δοκεῖς ἔντα λέγειν. ὁ γάρ
πόλεμος φοβερὸν μέν, ἀλλ' ὅμως, ὁ Ιέρων, ημεῖς
γε ὅταν ὅμεν ἐν στρατείᾳ, φύλακας προκαθιστά-
μενοι θαρραλέως δείπνου τε καὶ ὑπνου λαγχά-
νομεν.

10 Καὶ ὁ Ιέρων ἔφη· Ναὶ μὰ Δία, ὁ Σιμωνίδης·

instead of friends are my comrades, I am cut off from my pleasant intercourse with them, since I see in them no sign of good will towards me. Drink and sleep I avoid as a snare. To fear a crowd, and yet fear solitude, to fear to go unguarded, and yet fear the very men who guard you, to recoil from attendants unarmed and yet dislike to see them armed—surely that is a cruel predicament! And then, to trust foreigners more than citizens, strangers more than Greeks, to long to keep free men slaves, and yet be forced to make slaves free—do you not think that all these are sure tokens of a soul that is crushed with fear?¹ Fear, you know, is not only painful in itself by reason of its presence in the soul, but by haunting us even in our pleasures it spoils them utterly.

"If, like me, you are acquainted with war, Simonides, and ever hid the enemy's battle line close in front of you, call to mind what sort of food you ate at that time, and what sort of sleep you slept. I tell you the pains that despots suffer are such as you suffered then. Nay, they are still more terrible, for despots believe that they see enemies not in front alone, but all around them."

To this Simonides made answer "Excellent words in part, I grant! War is indeed a fearsome thing nevertheless, Hiero, our way, when we are on active service is this we post sentries to guard us, and sup and sleep with a good courage."

Then Hiero answered "No doubt you do,

¹ *Cyropaedia* III i 27.

αὐτῶν μὲν γὰρ τροφικά· τουσιν οἱ τόμοι, ὅστε
—ερὶ ἔσι τῷ φιλοθεῖται καὶ ὑπέρ ἡμῶν οἱ δε
τίγραιοι μυσθοῦ φίλακες ἔχονται εἰσπερ θερισ-
II τας. καὶ δεῖ μεν δῆτοι τοῦ φύλακας μηδὲν
οὔτω —οιεῖν δύνασθαι ὡς —ιστοὶς εἴαις τιστὸν
δὲ ἵνα τολὺ χαλεπώτεροι εὑρεῖν η̄ τάν τολλοὺς
ἔργατας ὁ—οιον βούλει ἔργον, ἄλλως τε καὶ
ότόταν λρημάταιν μὴν ἔτεκα —αρῶσι οἱ φυλάτ-
τοιτες, ἐξη̄ δ' αὐτοῖς ἐν ὀλίγῳ λρόιῳ τολυ
τλείω λαβεῖν ἀποκεῖται τὸν τύραιον η̄ δσα
τολίν λροιοι φυλάττοιτες —αρὰ —οῦ τυράιον
λαμβάνουσιν.

- 12 'Ο δ' ἔξηλωσας η̄μᾶς, ὡς τοὺς μὲν φίλους
μάλιστα εὐ —οιεῖν δυιάμεθα, τοὺς δ' ἔχθροὶς
πάντων μάλιστα χειρούμεθα, οὐδὲ —αῦθ' οὔτως
13 ἔχει φίλους μὲν γαρ τῶς ἀν ιουίσαις ποτὲ
εὐ τοιεῖν, ὅταν εὐ εἰδῆς, ὅτι ὁ τὰ τλεῖστα λαμβά-
νων ταρὰ σοῦ ἰδιστ̄ ἀν ὡς τάχιστα ἐξ ὀφθαλ-
μῶν σου γένοιτο; ὅ τι γὰρ ἀν τις λάβῃ παρὰ
τυράννου, οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ἔαυτοῦ ιομίζει, τρὶς ἀν
14 ἔξω τῆς τούτου ἐπικρατεῖας γέιηται. ἔχθροὺς
δ' αὖ πῶς ἀν φαίης μιλιστα τοῖς τυράννοις
ἔξεῖναι χειροῦσθαι, ὅταν εὐ εἰδῶσιν, ὅτι ἔχθροὶ
αὐτῶν εἰσὶ πάντες οἱ τυραννούμενοι, τούτους δε
μήτε κατακαίνειν ἅπαιτας μήτε δεσμεύειν οίον
τε η̄ τίνων γ ἀρ ἔτι ἄρξει; ἀλλ' εἰδότας,¹ ὅτι
ἔχθροὶ εἰσι, τούτους ἅμα μὲν φυλάττεσθαι δέη
15 καὶ χρῆσθαι δ' αὐτοῖς ἀναγκάζεσθαι, εὐ δ' ίσθι
καὶ τοῦτο, ὡΣιμωιιδη, ὅτι καὶ οὓς τῶν πολιτῶν
δεδιαστι, χαλεπῶς μεν αὐτοὺς ξῶντας ὄρῶσι,
χαλεπῶς δ' ἀποκτεινουσιν ὥσπερ γε καὶ ἵππος
εἰ ἀγαθος μὲν εἴη, φοβερὸς δὲ μη ἀνήκεστόν τε

¹ ειδότας

Simonides! For your sentries have sentries in front of them—the laws,—and so they fear for their own skins and relieve you of fear. But despots hire their guards like harvester^s. Now the chief qualification 11 required in the guards, I presume, is faithfulness. But it is far harder to find one faithful guard than hundreds of workmen for any kind of work, especially when money supplies the guards, and they have it in their power to get far more in a moment by assassinating the despot than they receive from him for years of service among his guards.

“You said that you envy us our unrivalled power 12 to confer benefits on our friends, and our unrivalled success in crushing our enemies. But that is another delusion. For how can you possibly feel that you 13 benefit friends when you know well that he who receives most from you would be delighted to get out of your sight as quickly as possible? For, no matter what a man has received from a despot, nobody regards it as his own, until he is outside the giver’s dominion. Or again, how can you say 14 that despots more than others are able to crush enemies, when they know well that all who are subject to their despotism are their enemies and that it is impossible to put them all to death or imprison them—else who will be left for the despot to rule over?—and, knowing them to be their enemies, they must beware of them, and, nevertheless, must needs make use of them? And I can assure you of this, 15 Simonides: when a despot fears any citizen, he is reluctant to see him alive, and yet reluctant to put him to death. To illustrate my point, suppose that a good horse makes his master afraid that he will do him some fatal mischief: the man will feel

ποιήσῃ, χαλεπῶς μὲν τις αὐτὸν ἀποκτείναι διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν, χαλεπῶς δὲ ζῶντι χρῆτο, εὐλαβούμενος, μή τι ἀνήκεστον ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις
16 ἔργασηται. καὶ τάλλα γε κτῆματα, ὅσα χαλεπὰ μὲν χρῆσιμα δ' ἔστιν, ὁμοίως ἄπαντα λυπεῖ μὲν τοὺς κεκτημένους, λυπεῖ δὲ ἀπαλλαττομένους.

VII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα αὐτοῦ ἥκουσεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης, εἶπεν, Ἔοικεν, ἔφη, ὡς Ἱέρων, μέγα τι εἶναι ἡ τιμῆ, ἡς ὀρεγόμειοι οἱ ἄνθρωποι πάντα μὲν πόνον ὑποδύονται, πάντα δὲ κίνδυνον ὑπομένουσι.
2 καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὡς ἔοικε, τοσαῦτα πράγματα ἔχούσης, ὅπόσα λέγεις, τῆς τυραννίδος, ὅμως προπετῶς φέρεσθε εἰς αὐτὴν, ὅπως τιμᾶσθε καὶ ὑπηρετῶσ μὲν ὑμῖν πάντες πάντα τὰ προσταττόμενα ἀπρό φασίστως, περιβλέπωσι δὲ πάντες, ὑπανιστῶνται δ' ἀπὸ τῶν θάκων ὁδῶν τε παραχωρῶσι, γεράρωσι δὲ καὶ λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις πάντες οἱ παρόντες ἀεὶ ὑμᾶς· τοιαῦτα γὰρ δὴ ποιοῦσι τοῖς τυράννοις οἱ ἀρχόμενοι καὶ ἄλλον ὅντιν' ἀν ἀεὶ τιμῶντες
3 τυγχάνωσι. καὶ γάρ μοι δοκεῖ, ὡς Ἱέρων, τούτῳ διαφέρειν ἀνὴρ τῶν ἄλλων ζώων, τῷ τιμῆς ὀρεγεσθαι. ἐπεὶ σιτίοις γε καὶ ποτοῖς καὶ ὕπνοις καὶ ἀφροδισίοις πάντα ὁμοίως ἥδεσθαι ἔοικε τὰ ζῷα· ἡ δὲ φιλοτιμία οὗτ' ἐν τοῖς ἀλόγοις ζώοις ἐμφύεται οὗτ' ἐν ἄπασιν ἀνθρώποις· οἵ δ' ἀν ἐμφύη τιμῆς τε καὶ ἐπαίνου ἔρως, οὗτοί εἰσιν ἥδη οἱ πλεῖστοι μὲν τῶν βοσκημάτων διαφέροντες, ἄνδρες δὲ καὶ οὐκέτι ἀνθρωποι μόνον νομιζόμενοι.
4 ὥστε ἐμοὶ μὲν εἰκότως δοκεῖτε ταῦτα πάντα ὑπομένειν, ἢ φέρετε ἐν τῇ τυραννίδι, ἐπείπερ τιμᾶσθε διαφερόντως τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων. καὶ γὰρ

reluctant to slaughter him on account of his good qualities, and yet his anxiety lest the animal may work some fatal mischief in a moment of danger will make him reluctant to keep him alive and use him. Yes, 16 and this is equally true of all possessions that are troublesome as well as useful. it is painful to possess them, and painful to get rid of them."

VII These statements drew from Simonides the following reply "A great thing, surely, Hiero, is the honour for which men strive so earnestly that they undergo any toil and endure my danger to win it! And what if despotism brings all those troubles that you tell of, yet such men as you, it seems, rush headlong into it that you may have honour, that all men may carry out your behests in all things without question, that the eyes of all may wait on you, that all may rise from their seats and make way for you, that all in your presence may glorify you by deed and word alike (Such, in fact, is the behaviour of subjects to despots and to anyone else who happens to be their hero at the moment.) For indeed it seems to me, Hiero, that in this man differs from other animals—I mean, in this craving for honour. In meat and drink and sleep and love all creatures alike seem to take pleasure, but love of honour is rooted neither in the brute beasts nor in every human being. But they in whom is implanted a passion for honour and praise, there are they who differ most from the beasts of the field, these are accounted men and not mere human beings.¹ And so, in my opinion, you have good reason for bearing all those burdens that despotism lays on you, in that you are honoured above all other men. For no

οὐδεμία ἀιθρωπίνη ἥδοις τοῦ θεοῦ ἐγγυτέρω
δοκεῖ εἶναι η ἡ περὶ τὰς τιμᾶς εὐφροσύνη.

5 Πρὸς ταῦτα δὴ εἰπεὶ ὁ Ἱέρων· Ἀλλ', ὃ Σι-
μωνίδη, καὶ αἱ τιμαὶ τῶν τυράννων δοκοῦσιν εἶναι ἐμοὶ⁶
δοκοῦσιν εἶναι ολάπερ ἐγώ σοι τὰ ἀφροδίσια διτα-
6 αὐτῶν ἀπέδειξα. οὗτε γὰρ αἱ μή ἔξι ἀντιφιλούν-
των ὑπουργίαι χάριτες οἵμην ἀδόκουν εἶναι οὗτε
τὰ ἀφροδίσια τὰ βίαια ἥδεα ἐφαίνετο. ὀσαντωὶ⁷
τοίνυν οὐδὲ αἱ ὑπουργίαι αἱ παρὰ τῶν φοβου-
μένων τιμαὶ εἰσι. πῶς γὰρ ἂν φαίημεν ἡ τοὺς
βίᾳ ἐξανισταμένους θάκων διὰ τὸ τιμᾶν τοὺς
ἀδικοῦντας ἐξανιστασθαι ἢ τοὺς ὄδῶν παρ-
χωροῦντας ταῖς κρείττοσι διὰ τὸ τιμᾶν τοὺς ἀδι-
8 κοῦντας παραχωρεῖν; καὶ δῶρά γε διδόσασιν οἱ
πολλοὶ τούτοις, οὓς μισοῦσι, καὶ ταῦτα δταν
μάλιστα φοβῶνται, μή τι κακὸν ὑπ' αὐτῶν πά-
θωσιν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οἷμαι δουλείας ἔργα
εἰκότων ἀν νομίζοιτο· αἱ δὲ τιμαὶ ἐμοιγε δοκοῦσιν
9 ἐκ τῶν ἐγαντίων τούτοις γίγνεσθαι. δταν γὰρ ἄν-
θρωποι ἄνδρα ἡγησάμενοι εὐεργετεῖν ἵκανὸν εἶναι
καὶ ἀπολαύειν αὐτοῦ ἀγαθὰ νομίσαντες ἐπειτα
τοῦτον ἀνὰ στόμα τε ἔχωσιν ἐπαινοῦντες θεῶνταί
τ' αὐτὸν ὡς οἰκεῖον ἐκαστος ἀγαθὸν ἐκόντες τε
παραχωρῶσι τούτῳ ὄδῶν καὶ θάκων ὑπανιστῶν-
ται φιλοῦντές τε καὶ μὴ φοβούμενοι καὶ στεφανῶσι
κοινῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ εὐεργεσίας ἔνεκα καὶ δωρεᾶσθαι
ἔθέλωσιν, οἱ αὐτὸι οὗτοι ἐμοιγε δοκοῦσι τιμᾶν
τε τοῦτον ἀληθῶς, οἱ ἀν τοιαῦτα ὑπουργοῖσιν,
10 καὶ ὁ τούτων ἀξιούμενος τιμᾶσθαι τῷ δντι. καὶ
ἔγωγε τὸν μὲν οὕτω τεμώμενον μακαρίζω· αἰ-
σθάνομαι γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐπιβούλευούμενον, ἀλλὰ
φροντιζόμενον, μή τι πάθῃ, καὶ ἀφόβως καὶ

human joy seems to be more nearly akin to that of heaven than the gladness which attends upon honours'

To this Hiero replied "Ah, Simonides, I think 5 even the honours enjoyed by despots bear a close resemblance to their courtships, as I have described them to you. The services of the indifferent 6 seemed to us not acts of grace, and favours extorted appeared to give no pleasure. And so it is with the services proffered by men in fear: they are not honours. For how can we say that men who are 7 forced to rise from their seats rise to honour their oppressors, or that men who make way for their superiors desire to honour their oppressors? And as 8 for presents, most men offer them to one whom they hate, and that too at the moment when they have cause to fear some evil at his hands. These acts, I suppose, may not unfairly be taken for acts of servility, but honours, I should say, express the very opposite feelings. For whenever men feel that some person is 9 competent to be their benefactor, and come to regard him as the fountain of blessings, so that henceforward his praise is ever on their lips, everyone of them looks on him as his peculiar blessing, they make way for him spontaneously and rise from their seats, through love and not through fear, crown him for his generosity and beneficence, and bring him freewill offerings, these same men in my opinion, honour that person truly by such services, and he who is accounted worthy of them is honoured in very deed. And, for myself, I count him a happy man who is 10 honoured thus, for I perceive that, instead of being exposed to treason, he is an object of solicitude, lest harm befall him, and he lives his life unassailed."

ἀνεπιφθόνως καὶ ἀκινδύνως καὶ εὐδαιμόνως τὸν
βίον διάγοντα· ὁ δὲ τύραννος ως ὑπὸ πάντων
ἀνθρώπων κατακεκριμένος δι' ἀδικίαν ἀποθνή-
σκειν οὕτως, ὡς Σιμωνίδης, εὖ ἴσθι καὶ νύκτα καὶ
ἡμέραν διάγει.

11 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα πάντα διήκουσεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης,
Καὶ πῶς, ἔφη, ὡς Ἱέρων, εἰ οὕτως πονηρόν ἐστὶ¹
τὸ τυραννεῖν καὶ τοῦτο σὺ ἔγνωκας, οὐκ ἀπαλ-
λάττῃ οὕτω μεγάλου κακοῦ οὕτε σὺ οὕτε ἄλλος
μὲν δὴ οὐδεὶς πώποτε ἐκῶν εἶναι τυραννίδος
ἀφεῖτο, ὅσπερ ἄπαξ ἐκτήσατο;

12 "Οτι, ἔφη, ὡς Σιμωνίδης, καὶ ταύτη ἀθλιώτατόν
ἐστιν ἡ τυραννίς· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀπαλλαγῆναι δυνατὸν
αὐτῆς ἐστι. πῶς γὰρ ἂν τίς ποτε ἐξαρκέσειε
τύραννος ἢ χρήματα ἐκτίνων δσους ἀφείλετο
ἢ δεσμοὺς ἀντιπάσχοι δσους δὴ ἐδέσμευσεν ἢ
δσους κατέκανε πῶς ἀν ἰκανὰς ψυχὰς ἀντιπαρά-
13 σχοιτο ἀποθανουμένας; ἀλλ' εἴπερ τω ἄλλῳ, ὡς
Σιμωνίδης, λυσιτελεῖ ἀπάγξασθαι, ἴσθι, ἔφη,
ὅτι τυράννῳ ἔγωγε εὑρίσκω μάλιστα τοῦτο λυσι-
τελοῦν ποιῆσαι. μόνῳ γὰρ αὐτῷ οὕτε ἔχειν οὕτε
καταθέσθαι τὰ κακὰ λυσιτελεῖ.

VIII. Καὶ ὁ Σιμωνίδης ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν· Ἄλλα
τὸ μὲν νῦν, ὡς Ἱέρων, ἀθύμως ἔχειν σε πρὸς
τὴν τυραννίδα οὐθαυμάζω, ἐπείπερ ἐπιθυμῶν
φιλεῖσθαι ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων ἐμποδών σοι τούτουν
νομίζεις αὐτὴν εἶναι. ἐγὼ μέντοι ἔχειν μοι δοκῶ
διδάξαι σε, ώς τὸ ἄρχειν οὐδὲν ἀποκωλύει τοῦ
φιλεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλεονεκτεῖ γε τῆς ἴδιωτείας.

2 Ἐπισκοποῦντες δὲ αὐτὸν εἰ οὕτως ἔχει μήπω ἐκεῖνο
σκοπῶμεν, εἰ διὰ τὸ μεῖζον δύνασθαι ὁ ἄρχων
καὶ χαρίζεσθαι πλείω δύναιτ' ἄν, ἀλλ' ἄν τὰ

by fear and malice and danger, and enjoys unbroken happiness. But what is the despot's lot? I tell you, Simonides, he lives day and night like one condemned by the judgment of all men to die for his wickedness.

When Simonides had listened to all this he asked 11
 "Pry, how comes it, Hiero, if despotism is a thing so vile, and this is your verdict, that you do not rid yourself of so great an evil, and that none other, for that matter, who has once acquired it, ever yet surrendered despotic power?"

"Simonides," said he, "this is the crowning 12 misery of despotic power, that it cannot even be got rid of. For how could any despot ever find means to repay in full all whom he has robbed, or himself serve all the terms of imprisonment that he has inflicted? Or how could he forfeit a life for every man whom he has put to death? Ah, 13 Simonides, he cried, "if it profits any man to hang himself, know what my finding is a despot has most to gain by it, since he alone can neither keep nor lay down his troubles with profit."

VIII "Well, Hiero," retorted Simonides, "I am not surprised that you are out of heart with despotism for the moment, since you hold that it cuts you off from gaining the affection of mankind, which you covet. Nevertheless, I think I can show you that rule so far from being a bjr to popularity, actually has the advantage of a citizen's life. In 2 trying to discover whether this is so, let us for the time being pass over the question whether the ruler, because of his greater power, is able to confer more favours. Assume that the citizen and

όμοια ποιῶσιν ὃ τε ἴδιώτης καὶ ὁ τύρανος, ἐννόει,
πότερος μείζω ἀπὸ τῶν ἵσων κτᾶται χάριν.

"Λρξομαι δέ σοι ἀπὸ τῶν μικροτάτων παρα-
3 δειγμάτων. ἴδων γὰρ πρῶτον προσειπάτω τινὰ
φιλικῶς ὃ τε ἄρχων καὶ ὁ ἴδιώτης. ἐν τούτῳ
τὴν ποτέρου πρόσρησιν μᾶλλον εὐφραίνειν τὸν
ἀκούσαντα νομίζεις; οἴθι δὴ ἐπαινεσάντων ἀμ-
φοτέρων τὸν αὐτὸν τὸν ποτέρου δοκεῖς ἐπαινοῦ-
5 ἔξικνεῖσθαι μᾶλλον εἰς εὐφροσύνην; θύσας δὲ
τιμησάτω ἕκάτερος· τὴν παρὰ ποτέρου τιμὴν
+ μείζονος ἀν χάριτος δοκεῖς τυγχάνειν; κάμνοντα
θεραπευσάτωσαν ὄμοίως· οὐκοῦν τοῦτο σαφές,
ὅτι αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν δυνατωτάτων θεραπεῖαι καὶ χαρὰν
ἐμποιοῦσι μεγίστην; δότωσαν δὴ τὰ ἵσα· οὐ
καὶ ἐν τούτῳ σαφές, ὅτι αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν δυνατωτά-
6 των ἡμίσειαι χάριτες πλέον ἢ ὅλον τὸ παρὰ τοῦ
τοῦ ἴδιώτου δώρημα δύνανται; ἀλλ' ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ
καὶ ἐκ θεῶν τιμή τις καὶ χάρις συμπαρέπεσθαι
ἀνδρὶ ἄρχοντι. μὴ γὰρ ὅτι καλλίονα ποιεῖ ἄνδρα,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ἡδιον θεώμεθά τε
ὅταν ἄρχῃ ἢ ὅταν ἴδιωτεύῃ διαλεγομένοι τε ἀγαλ-
λόμεθα τοῖς προτετιμημένοις μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἐκ
7 τοῦ ἵσου ἡμīν οὖσι. καὶ μὴν παιδικά γε, ἐν οἷς
δὴ καὶ σὺ μάλιστα κατεμέμψω τὴν τυραννίδα,
ἢ κιστα μὲν γῆρας ἄρχοντος δυσχεραίνει, ἢ κιστα
δ' αἰσχος, πρὸς δὲ ἀν τυγχάνῃ ὄμιλῶν, τούτου
ὑπολογίζεται. αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ τετιμῆσθαι μάλιστα

the despot act alike, and consider which of the two wins the greater measure of gratitude from the same actions.

"You shall have the most trifling examples to begin with. First, suppose that two men greet 3 someone with a friendly remark on seeing him. One is a ruler, the other a citizen. In this case which greeting, do you think, is the more delightful to the hearer? Or again, both commend the same man. Which commendation, do you think, is the more welcome? Suppose that each does the honours when he offers sacrifice. Which invitation, think you, will be accepted with the more sincere thanks? Suppose they are equally 4 attentive to a sick man. Is it not obvious that the attentions of the mightiest bring most comfort to the patient? Suppose they give presents of equal value. Is it not clear in this case too that half the number of favours bestowed by the mightiest count for more than the whole of the plain citizen's gift? Nay, to my way of thinking, even the gods 5 cause a peculiar honour and favour to dance attendance on a great ruler. For not only does rule add dignity of presence to a man, but we find more pleasure in the sight of that man when he is a ruler than when he is a mere citizen, and we take more pride in the conversation of those who rank above us than in that of our equals. And 6 favourites, mark you, who were the subject of your bitterest complaint against despotism, are not offended by old age in a ruler, and take no account of ugliness in the patron with whom they happen to be associated. For high rank in itself is a most striking embellishment to the person: it casts a

ἡ ἐπιμέλεια διὰ χαρίτων γίγνεται, τὸ δὲ τὸν
 ἐνδεῶς τι ποιοῦντα λοιδορεῖν τε καὶ ἀναγκάζειν
 καὶ ξημιοῦν καὶ κολάζειν, ταῦτα δὲ ἀνάγκη
 3 δι' ἀπεχθείας μᾶλλον γίγνεσθαι. ἐγὼ οὖν
 φημι ἀνδρὶ ἄρχοντι τὸν μὲν¹ ἀνάγκης δεόμενον
 ἄλλοις προστακτέον εἶναι κολάζειν, τὸ δὲ τὰ
 ἄθλα ἀποδιδόναι δι' αὐτοῦ ποιητέον. ὡς δὲ
 4 ταῦτα καλῶς ἔχει, μαρτυρεῖ τὰ γιγνόμενα. καὶ
 γὰρ ὅταν χοροὺς ἡμῖν βουλώμεθα ἀγωνίζεσθαι,
 ἄθλα μὲν ὁ ἄρχων προτίθησιν, ὑθροίζειν δὲ
 αὐτοὺς προστέτακται χορηγοῖς καὶ ἄλλοις δι-
 δάσκειν καὶ ἀνάγκην προστιθέναι τοῖς ἐνδεῶς τι-
 ποιοῦσιν. οὐκοῦν εὐθὺς ἐν τούτοις τὸ μὲν ἐπί-
 χαρι διὰ τοῦ ἄρχοντος ἐγένετο, τὰ δ' ἀντίτυπα
 5 δι' ἄλλων. τί οὖν κωλύει καὶ τάλλα τὰ πολιτικὰ
 οὕτως περαίνεσθαι; διῆρηνται μὲν γὰρ ἄπασαι αἱ
 πόλεις αἱ μὲν κατὰ φυλάς, αἱ δὲ κατὰ μόρας, αἱ
 δὲ κατὰ λόχους, καὶ ἄρχοντες ἐφ' ἔκαστῳ μέρει
 6 ἐφεστήκασιν. οὐκοῦν εἰ τις καὶ τούτοις ὥσπερ
 τοῖς χοροῖς ἄθλα προτιθείη καὶ εὔοπλίας καὶ
 εύταξίας καὶ ἵππικῆς καὶ ἀλκῆς τῆς ἐν πολέμῳ
 καὶ δικαιοσύνης τῆς ἐν τοῖς συμβολαίοις, είκος καὶ
 ταῦτα πάντα διὰ φιλονικίαν ἐντόνως ἀσκεῖσθαι.
 7 καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δία ὄρμῷντό γ' ἀν θᾶττον ὅποι δέοι-
 τιμῆς ὀρεγόμενοι καὶ χρήματα θᾶττον εἰσφέροιεν,
 ὅπότε τούτου καιρὸς εἴη, καὶ τὰ πάντων γε χρη-
 σιμώτατον, ἥκιστα δὲ εἰθισμένον διὰ φιλονικίας
 πράττεσθαι, ἡ γεωργία αὐτὴ ἀν πολὺ ἐπιδοίη.

¹ τὸ μὲν Thalheim: τὸ μὲν MSS.: τὸ μὲν τὸν Σ., after Stephanus.

efficiently, is a form of activity that is greeted with
 thinks the duty of pronouncing censure, using
 coercion, inflicting puns and penalties on those who
 come short in my respect, is one that must of
 necessity give rise to a certain amount of unpopularity.
 Therefore my sentence is that a great ruler should 3
 delegate to others the task of punishing those who
 require to be coerced, and should reserve to himself
 the privilege of awarding the prizes. The excel-
 lence of this arrangement is established by duly
 experience. Thus, when we want to have a choral 4
 competition, the ruler offers prizes, but the task of
 assembling the choirs is delegated to choir masters,
 and others have the task of training them and
 coercing those who come short in any respect.
 Obviously, then, in this case, the pleasant part falls
 to the ruler, the disagreeables fall to others. Why, 5
 then, should not all other public affairs be managed
 on this principle? For all communities are divided
 into parts—‘tribes,’ ‘wards,’ ‘unions,’ as the
 case may be—and every one of these parts is subject
 to its appointed ruler. If, then, the analogy of the 6
 choruses were followed and prizes were offered to
 these parts for excellence of equipment, good
 discipline, horsemanship, courage in the field and
 fair dealing in business, the natural outcome would
 be competition, and consequently an earnest en-
 deavour to improve in all these respects too. And 7
 as a matter of course, with the prospect of reward
 there would be more despatch in starting for the
 appointed place, and greater promptitude in the
 payment of war taxes, whenever occasion required.
 Nay, agriculture itself, most useful of all occupa-
 tions, but just the one in which the spirit of

αύτούς; ή λέγεις, ώς φιλίαν κτησάμενος ἄρχων
οὐδὲν ἔτι δεῖσται δορυφόρων;

2 Ναὶ μὰ Δία, εἰπεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης, δεῖσται μὲν οὖν.
οἶδα γάρ, ὅτι ὥσπερ ἐν ἵπποις οὕτως καὶ ἐν ἀνθρώ-
ποις τισὶν ἐγγίγνεται, ὅσῳ ἀν ἔκπλεα τὰ δέοντα

3 ἔχωσι, τοσούτῳ ὑβριστοτέροις εἰναι. τοὺς μὲν
οὓν τοιούτους μᾶλλον ἀν σωφρονίζοι ὁ ἀπὸ
τῶν δορυφόρων φόβος. τοῖς δὲ καλοῖς κάγαθοῖς
ἀπ' οὐδειὸς ἀν μοι δοκεῖς τοσαῦτα ὡφελήματα

4 παρασχεῖν ὅσα ἀπὸ τῶν μισθοφόρων. τρέφεις
μὲν γὰρ δῆπου καὶ σὺ αὐτὸν σαυτῷ φύλακας·
ηδη δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ δεσπόται βίᾳ ὑπὸ τῶν δούλων
ἀπέθανον. εἰ οὖν ἐν πρῶτον τοῦτ' εἴη τῶν
προστεταγμένων τοῖς μισθοφόροις, ώς πάντων
ὅντας δορυφόρους τῶν πολιτῶν βοηθεῖν πᾶσιν,
ἄν τι τοιοῦτον αἰσθάνωνται· γίγνονται δέ που,
ώς πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα, κακοῦργοι ἐν πόλεσιν·
εἰ οὖν καὶ τούτους φυλάττειν εἰεν τεταγμένοι,
καὶ τοῦτ' ἀν εἰδεῖν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὡφελούμενοι.

5 πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἐργάταις
καὶ κτήνεσιν οὗτοι ἀν εἰκότως καὶ θάρρος καὶ
ἀσφάλειαν δύναιντο μάλιστα παρέχειν, ὁμοίως
μὲν τοῖς σοὶς ἴδιοις, ὁμοίως δὲ τοῖς ἀνὰ τὴν
χώραν. ἰκανοί γε μήν εἰσι καὶ σχολὴν παρέχειν
τοῖς πολίταις τῶν ἴδιων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, τὰ ἐπί-

6 καιρα φυλάττοντες. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ πο-
λεμίων ἐφόδους κρυφαίας καὶ ἐξαπιναίας τίνες
ἐτοιμότεροι ἢ προαισθέσθαι ἢ κωλῦσαι τῶν ἀεὶ
ἐν ὅπλοις τε δύντων καὶ συντεταγμένων; ἀλλὰ
μήν καὶ ἐν στρατείᾳ τί ἐστιν ὡφελιμώτερον πολί-

say that a ruler, once he becomes popular, will have no further need of a bodyguard?

"No, no, he will need them, of course," said 2 Simonides "For I know that some human beings are like horses—the more they get what they want, the more unruly they are apt to become. The way 3 to manage men like that is to put the fear of the bodyguard into them. And as for the gentlemen, you can probably confer greater benefits on them by employing mercenaries than by any other means. For I presume that you maintain the force primarily 4 to protect yourself. But masters have often been murdered by their slaves. If therefore the first duty enjoined on the mercenaries were to act as the bodyguard of the whole community and render help to all, in case they got wind of any such intention—there are black sheep in every fold, as we all know—I say, if they were under orders to guard the citizens as well as the depot, the citizens would know that this is one service rendered to them by the mercenaries. Nor is this all for 5 naturally the mercenaries would also be able to give fearlessness and security in the fullest measure to the labourers and cattle in the country, and the benefit would not be confined to your own estates, but would be felt up and down the countryside. Again, they are competent to afford the citizens 6 leisure for attending to their private affairs by guarding the vital positions. Besides, should an enemy plan a secret and sudden attack, what handier agents can be found for detecting or preventing their design than a standing force, armed and organized? Or once more, when the citizens go campaigning, what is more useful to them than mer-

ταῖς μισθοφόρων; τούτους γὰρ προπονεῖν καὶ
προκινδυνεύειν καὶ προφυλάττειν εἰκὸς ἔτοιμο-
7 τάτους εἶναι. τὰς δὲ ἀγχιτέρμονας πόλεις οὐκ
ἀνάγκη διὰ τοὺς ἀεὶ ἐν ὅπλοις ὄντας καὶ εἰρήνης
μάλιστα ἐπιθυμεῖν; οἱ γὰρ συντεταγμένοι καὶ
σώζειν τὰ τῶν φίλων μάλιστα καὶ σφάλλειν τὰ
8 τῶν πολεμίων δύναιτ' ἄν. ὅταν γε μὴν γνῶσιν
οἱ πολῖται, ὅτι οὗτοι κακὸν μὲν οὐδὲν ποιοῦσι
τὸν μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντα, τοὺς δὲ κακουργεῖν βουλομέ-
νους κωλύουσι, βοηθοῦσι δὲ τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις,
προνοοῦσι δὲ καὶ προκινδυνεύουσι τῶν πολιτῶν,
πῶς οὐκ ἀνάγκη καὶ δαπανᾶν εἰς τούτους ἥδιστα;
τρέφουσι γοῦν καὶ ἴδιᾳ ἐπὶ μείοσι τούτων φύλακας.

ΧΙ. Χρὴ δέ, ὡς Ἰέρων, οὐδὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἴδιων
κτημάτων ὀκνεῖν δαπανᾶν εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ἀγαθόν.
καὶ γὰρ ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ τὰ εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀνα-
λούμενα μᾶλλον εἰς τὸ δέον τελεῖσθαι ἢ τὰ
2 εἰς τὸ ἴδιον ἀνδρὶ τυράννῳ. καθ' ἐν δὲ ἔκαστον
σκοπῷ μεν. οἰκίαν πρῶτον ὑπερβαλλούσῃ δα-
πάνη κεκαλλωπισμένην μᾶλλον ἡγῆ κόσμον ἄν
σοι παρέχειν ἢ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν τείχεσί τε καὶ
ναοῖς καὶ παστάσι¹ καὶ ἀγοραῖς καὶ λιμέσοις
3 κατεσκευασμένην; δηλοις δὲ πότερον τοῖς ἑκπα-
γλοτάτοις αὐτὸς κατακεκοσμημένος δεινότερος
ἄν φαίνοισι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἢ τῆς πόλεως ὅλης
4 εὐόπλου σοι οὕσης; προσόδους δὲ ποτέρως ἄν
δοκεῖς πλείονας γίγνεσθαι, εἰ τὰ σὰ ἴδια μόνον
ἐνεργὰ ἔχοις ἢ εἰ τὰ πάντων τῶν πολιτῶν
52

cenaries? For these are, as a matter of course, the readiest to bear the brunt of toil and danger and watching. And must not those who possess a standing force impose on border states a strong desire for peace? For nothing equals an organized body of men, whether for protecting the property of friends or for thwarting the plans of enemies. Further, when the citizens get it into their heads that these troops do no harm to the innocent and hold the would be malefactor in check, come to the rescue of the wronged, care for the citizens and shield them from danger, surely they are bound to pay the cost of them with a right good will. At all events they keep guards in their homes for less important objects than these.

XI "Nor should you hesitate to draw on your private property, Hiero, for the common good. For in my opinion the sums that a great despot spends on the city are more truly necessary expenses than the money he spends on himself. But let us go into details. First, which do you suppose is likely to bring you more credit, to own a palace adorned with priceless objects of art, or to have the whole city garnished with walls and temples and verandahs and market places and harbours? Which will make you look more terrible to the enemy, to dazzle all beholders with your own glittering splendour, or to present the whole of your people in goodly armour? Which plan, think you, will yield revenues more abounding, to keep only your own capital employed, or to contrive to bring the capital of all the citizens

¹ *was* *des* *reets* *on* *the* *authority* *of* *Pollux* *was* *arrdes*
8 *with* *the* *MSS.*

5 μεμηχαιημένος εἶης ἐνεργὰ εἶναι; τὸ δὲ πάντων
 κάλλιστον καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατον τομιζόμενον
 εἶναι ἐπιτήδευμα ἄρματοτροφίαν ποτέρως ἀν
 δοκεῖς μᾶλλον κοσμεῖν, εἰ αὐτὸς πλεῖστα τῶν
 Ἑλλήνων ἄρματα τρέφοις τε καὶ πέμποις εἰς
 τὰς πανηγύρεις ή εἰ ἐκ τῆς σῆς πόλεως πλεῖστοι
 μὲν ἵπποτρόφοι εἰεν, πλεῖστοι δ' ἀγωνίζοιντο;
 νικᾶν δὲ πότερα δοκεῖς κάλλιον εἶναι ἄρματος
 ἀρετῆς η πόλεως, ης προστατεύεις, εὐδαιμονία;
 6 οὐδὲ μὲν γάρ οὐδὲ προσήκειν φῆμι ἀνδρὶ τυράννῳ
 πρὸς ἴδιώτας ἀγωνίζεσθαι. νικῶν μὲν γάρ οὐκ
 ἀν θαυμάζοιο, ἀλλὰ φθονοῖο, ως ἀπὸ πολλῶν
 οἴκων τὰς δαπάνας ποιούμενος, νικώμενος δ' ἀν
 7 πάντων μάλιστα καταγελῶ. ἀλλ' ἔγώ σοι
 φημι, ὡς Ἱέρων, πρὸς ἄλλους προστάτας πόλεων
 τὸν ἀγῶνα εἶναι, ὃν ἐὰν σὺ εὐδαιμονεστάτην
 τὴν πόλιν, ης προστατεύεις, παρέχῃς, εὖ ἔσθι
 νικῶν τῷ καλλίστῳ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῳ ἐν
 8 ἀνθρώποις ἀγωνίσματι. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν εὐθὺς
 κατειργασμένος ἀν εἶης τὸ φιλεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν
 ἀρχομένων, οὐ δὴ σὺ ἐπιθυμῶν τυγχάνεις· ἔπειτα
 δὲ τὴν σὴν νίκην οὐκ ἀν εἰς εἴη ὁ ἀνακηρύττων,
 ἀλλὰ πάντες ἀνθρωποι ὑμνοῦν ἀν τὴν σὴν ἀρετήν.
 9 περίβλεπτος δὲ ὁν οὐχ ὑπὸ ἴδιωτῶν μόνον, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ ὑπὸ πολλῶν πόλεων ἀγαπῷο ἀν καὶ θαυμα-
 στὸς οὐκ ἴδιᾳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δημοσίᾳ παρὰ
 0 πᾶσιν ἀν εἶης, καὶ ἔξειη μὲν ἀν σοι ἔνεκεν
 ἀσφαλείας, εἰ ποι βούλοιο, θεωρήσοντι πορεύ-
 εσθαι, ἔξειη δ' ἀν αὐτοῦ μένοντι τοῦτο πράττειν.

into employment? And what about the breeding
 of chariot horses, commonly considered the noblest
 and grandest business in the world? By which
 method do you think you will gain most credit for
 that, if you outdo all other Greeks in the number
 of teams you breed and send to the festivals, or if
 the greatest number of breeders and the greatest
 number of competitors are drawn from your city?
 And how is the nobler victory gained, by the excel-
 lence of your team, or by the prosperity of the
 city of which you are the head? Indeed my own 6
 opinion is that it is not even seemly for a great despot
 to compete with private citizens. For your victory
 would excite envy rather than admiration, on the
 ground that many estates supply the money that
 you spend, and no defeat would be greeted with
 so much ridicule as yours. I tell you, Hiero, 7
 you have to compete with other heads of states,
 and if you cause your state to surpass theirs in
 prosperity, be well assured¹ that you are the victor
 in the noblest and grandest competition in the
 world. And in the first place you will forthwith 8
 have secured just what you really want, the affection
 of your subjects. Secondly, your victory will not
 be proclaimed by one herald's voice, but all the
 world will tell of your virtue. The observed of 9
 all observers' eyes, you will be a hero, not only to
 private citizens, but to many states. You will be
 admired not only in your home, but in public among
 all men. And you will be free to go wherever you 10
 choose, so far as safety is concerned, to see the
 sights, and equally free to enjoy them in your

¹ But εὖ τοῖς is not right. All the MSS. have εὖ τοῖς, which perhaps conceals εὐδαίμων τοῖς, "you will be happy, being the victor."

ἀεὶ γὰρ ἀν παρὰ σοὶ πανήγυρις εἴη τῶν βουλομένων ἐπιδεικνύναι, εἴ τίς τι σοφὸν ἢ καλὸν ἢ ἀγαθὸν ἔχοι, τῶν δὲ καὶ ἐπιθυμούντων ὑπηρετεῖν
11 πᾶς δὲ ὁ μὲν παρὼν σύμμαχος ἀν εἴη σοι, ὁ δὲ ἀπὼν ἐπιθυμοίη ἀν ἰδεῖν σε!

"Ωστε οὐ μόνον φιλοῖο ἄν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐρῷο ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τοὺς καλοὺς οὐ πειρᾶν, ἀλλὰ πειρώμενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀνέχεσθαι ἄν σε δέοι, φόβον δὲ οὐκ ἀν ἔχοις, ἀλλ' ἀλλοις παρέχοις,
12 μὴ τι πάθης, ἐκόντας δὲ τοὺς πειθομένους ἔχοις ἀν καὶ ἐθελουσίως σου προνοοῦντας θεῷο ἄν, εἰ δέ τις κίνδυνος εἴη, οὐ συμμάχους μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ προμάχους καὶ προθύμους ὄρφης ἄν, πολλῶν μὲν δωρεῶν ἀξιούμενος, οὐκ ἀπορῶ¹ δέ, δτῷ τούτων εὔμενεῖ μεταδώσεις, πάντας μὲν συγχαίροντας ἔχων ἐπὶ τοῖς σοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, πάντας δὲ πρὸ τῶν σῶν ὥσπερ τῶν ἴδιων
13 μαχομένους. Θησαυρούς γε μὴν ἔχοις ἀν πάντας τοὺς παρὰ τοῖς φίλοις πλούτους.

'Αλλὰ θαρρῶν, ὡ 'Ιέρων, πλούτιζε μὲν τοὺς φίλους· σαυτὸν γὰρ δύναμιν περιάψεις· κτῶ δὲ τὴν πόλιν· σαυτῷ γὰρ δύναμιν περιάψεις· κτῶ δὲ αὐτῇ συμμάχους...¹ νόμιζε δὲ τὴν μὲν πατρίδα οἰκον, τοὺς δὲ πολίτας ἑταίρους, τοὺς δὲ φίλους τέκνα σεαυτοῦ, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας δτιπερ τὴν σὴν ψυχήν, καὶ τούτους πάντας πειρῶ νικᾶν εὐ¹⁴
15 ποιῶν. ἐὰν γὰρ τοὺς φίλους κρατῆς εὖ ποιῶν οὐ μή σοι δύνωνται ἀντέχειν οἱ πολέμιοι.

Κάν ταῦτα πάντα ποιῆς, εὖ ἵσθι πάντων τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις κάλλιστον καὶ μακαριώτατον κτῆμα κεκτίσῃ. εὐδαιμονῶν γὰρ οὐ φθονηθήσῃ.

¹ Weiske indicates a lacuna here: B. does not.

home, for you will have a throng of aspirants before you, some eager to display something wise or beautiful or good, others longing to serve you Everyone 11 present will be an ally, everyone absent will long to see you

"Thus you will be not only the loved, but the adored of mankind You will need not to court the fair, but to listen patiently to their suit Anxiety for your welfare will fall not on yourself, but on others You will have the willing obedience of 12 your subjects, you will mark their unsolicited care for you, and should any danger arise, you will find in them not merely allies, but champions and zealots¹ Accounted worthy of many gifts, and at no loss for some man of goodwill with whom to share them, you will find all rejoicing in your good fortune, all fighting for your interests, as though they were their own And all the riches in the 13 houses of your friends will be yours in fee

"Take heart then, Hiero, enrich your friends, for so you will enrich yourself Exalt the state, for so you will deck yourself with power Get her allies 14 [for so you will win supporters for yourself] Ac count the fatherland your estate, the citizens your comrades, friends your own children, your sons possessions dear as life And try to surpass all these in deeds of kindness For if you out-do your friends 15 in kindness, it is certain that your enemies will not be able to resist you

"And if you do all these things, rest assured that you will be possessed of the fairest and most blessed possession in the world, for none will be jealous of your happiness"

¹ Or 'champions full of zeal.' *The exil is not free from suspicion.*

AGESILAUS

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΑΓΗΣΙΛΑΟΣ

I. Οιδα μέν, ὅτι τῆς Ἀγησιλάου ὄρετῆς τε καὶ δόξης οὐ ράδιον ἄξιον ἐπαινοῦ γράψαι, ὅμως δ' ἔγχειρητέον· οὐ γὰρ ἀν καλῶς ἔχοι, εἰ ὅτι τελέως ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐγένετο, διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ μειόνων τυγχάνοι ἐπαίνων.

2 Περὶ μὲν οὖν εὐγενείας αὐτοῦ τί ἀν τις μεῖζον καὶ κάλλιον εἰπεῖν ἔχοι ή ὅτι ἔτι καὶ νῦν τοῖς προγόνοις ὀνομαζομένοις ἀπομιημονεύεται, ὅπόστος ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους ἐγένετο, καὶ τούτοις οὐκ 3 ἴδιώταις, ἀλλ' ἐκ βασιλέων βασιλεῦσιν; ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ ταύτη γ' ἀν τις ἔχοι καταμέμψασθαι αὐτούς, ὡς βασιλεύουσι μέν, πόλεως δὲ τῆς ἐπιτυχούσης· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τὸ γένος αὐτῶν τῆς πατρίδος ἐντιμότατοι, οὕτω καὶ η πόλις ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐνδοξοτάτη· ὥστε οὐ δευτέρων πρω-
4 τεύουσιν, ἀλλ' ἡγεμόνων ἡγεμονεύουσι. τῇδέ γε μὴν καὶ κοινῇ ἄξιον ἐπαινέσαι τὴν τε πατρίδα καὶ τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ· η τε γὰρ πόλις οὐδεπώποτε φθονήσασα τοῦ προτετιμῆσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐπεχειρησε καταλῦσαι τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῶν οἵ τε βασιλεῖς οὐδεπώποτε μειζόνων ὠρέχθησαν η ἐφ' οἷσπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβον. τοιγαροῦν ἄλλη μὲν οὐδεμία ἀρχὴ φανερα ἐστι διαγεγενημένη ἀδιάσπαστος οὔτε δημοκρατία οὔτε ὀλι-

βο

AGESILAUS

I KNOW how difficult it is to write an appreciation of Agesilaus that shall be worthy of his virtue and glory. Nevertheless the attempt must be made. For it would not be seemly that so good a man, just because of his perfection, should receive no tributes of praise, however inadequate.

Now concerning his high birth what greater and nobler could be said than this, that even to day the line of his descent from Heracles¹ is traced through the roll of his ancestors, and those no simple citizens, but kings and sons of kings? Nor are they open to the reproach that though they were kings, they ruled over a petty state. On the contrary, as their family is honoured above all in their fatherland, so is their state glorious above all in Greece, thus they are not first in the second rank, but leaders in a community of leaders. On one account his fatherland and his family are worthy to be praised together, for never at any time has the state been moved by jealousy of their pre eminence to attempt the overthrow of their government, and never at any time have the kings striven to obtain greater powers than were conferred on them originally at their succession to the throne. For this reason, while no other government—democracy, oligarchy, despotism or kingdom—

¹ Agesilaus was twenty fifth in line of descent from Heracles (Herodotus, VIII 131, Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, c. i, *Agesilaus*, c. 1)

γαρχία οὕτε τυραννίς οὕτε βασιλεία· αὕτη δὲ
μόνη διαμέρει συνεχής βασιλεία.

5 "Ως γε μὴν καὶ πρὸν ἄρξαι ἄξιος τῆς βασιλείας
ἔδόκει εἶναι Ἀγησίλαος, τάδε τὰ σημεῖα. ἐπεὶ
γὰρ Ἀγις βασιλεὺς ὡν ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐρισάντων
περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς Λεωτυχίδα μὲν ὡς Ἀγιδος δυτος
νίον, Ἀγησίλαου δὲ ὡς Ἀρχιδάμου, κρίνασσα ἡ
πόλις ἀνεπικλητότερον εἶναι Ἀγησίλαον καὶ τῷ
γένει καὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ τοῦτον ἐστήσατο βασιλέα.
καίτοι τὸ ἐν τῇ κρατίστῃ πόλει ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρίστων
κριθέντα τοῦ καλλίστου γέρων ἀξιωθῆγαι ποίων
ἔτι τεκμηρίων προσδεῖται τῆς γε πρὸν ἄρξαι
αὐτὸν ἀρετῆς;

6 "Οσα γε μὴν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ διεπράξατο, νῦν
ἡδη διηγήσομαι· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν ἔργων καὶ τοὺς
τρόπους αὐτοῦ κάλλιστα νομίζω καταδῆλους
ἔσεσθαι.

'Αγησίλαος τοίνυν ἔτι μὲν νέος ὡν ἔτυχε τῆς
βασιλείας· ἄρτι δὲ δυτος αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ,
ἔξηγγέλθη βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσῶν ἀθροίζων καὶ
ναυτικὸν καὶ πεζὸν πολὺ στράτευμα ὡς ἐπὶ

7 "Ελληνας· βουλευομένων δὲ περὶ τούτων Λακε-
δαιμονίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων, Ἀγησίλαος
ὑπέστη, ἐὰν δῶσιν αὐτῷ τριάκοντα μὲν Σπαρ-
τιατῶν, δισχιλίους δὲ νεοδαμώδεις, εἰς ἔξακισ-
χιλίους δὲ τὸ σύνταγμα τῶν συμμάχων, διαβή-
σεσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ πειράσεσθαι εἰρήνην
ποιῆσαι, ἡ ἀν πολεμεῖν βούληται ὁ βάρβαρος,
ἀσχολίαν αὐτῷ παρέξειν στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς

8 "Ελληνας. εὐθὺς μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ πάνυ ἡγά-
σθησαν αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι, ἐπειδὴ ὁ
Πέρσης πρόσθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα διέβη, ἀντε-

can lay claim to an unbroken existence, this kingdom alone stands first continually.

However, there are not wanting signs that even before his reign began Agesilaus was deemed worthy to be king. For on the death of King Agis there was a struggle for the throne between Leotychidas, as the son of Agis, and Agesilaus, as the son of Archidamus. The state decided in favour of Agesilaus, judging him to be the more eligible in point of birth and character alike. Surely to have been pronounced worthy of the highest privilege by the best men in the mightiest state is proof sufficient of his virtue, at least before he began to reign.

I will now give an account of the achievements of his reign, for I believe that his deeds will throw the clearest light on his qualities.

Now Agesilaus was still a young man¹ when he gained the throne. He had been but a short time in power when the news leaked out that the king of the Persians was assembling a great navy and army for an attack on the Greeks. While the Lacedaemonians and their allies were considering the matter, Agesilaus declared, that if they would give him thirty Spartans, two thousand newly enrolled citizens, and a contingent of six thousand allies, he would cross to Asia and try to effect a peace, or, in case the barbarian wanted to fight, would keep him so busy that he would have no time for an attack on the Greeks. His eagerness to pay back the Persian in his own coin for the former invasion of Greece, his determination to wage an offensive

¹ He was over forty, but see the Introduction.

διαβῆναι ἐπ' αὐτόν, τό τε αἱρεῖσθαι ἐπιόντα
μᾶλλον ἡ ὑπομένοντα μάχεσθαι αὐτῷ, καὶ τὸ
τάκείνου δαπανῶντα βούλεσθαι μᾶλλον ἡ τα
τῶν Ἑλλήνων πολεμεῖν, κάλλιστον δὲ πάνται
ἐκρίνετο τὸ μὴ περὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς
Ἀσίας τὸν ἀγῶνα καθιστάναι.

- 9 Ἐπεί γε μὴν λαβὼν τὸ στράτευμα ἔξέπλευσε,
πῶς ἄν τις σαφέστερον ἐπιδείξειεν, ώς ἐστρατή-
0 γησεν, ἡ εἰ αὐτὰ διηγήσαιτο ἢ ἐπράξεν; ἐν
τοίνυν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἦδε πρώτη πρᾶξις ἐγένετο
Τισσαφέρνης μὲν ὥμοσεν Ἀγησιλάῳ, εἰ σπεί-
σαιτο, ἔως ἔλθοιεν οὖς πέμψειε πρὸς βασιλέα
ἀγγέλους, διαπράξεσθαι αὐτῷ ἀφεθῆναι αὐτονό-
μους τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας, Ἀγησί-
λαος δὲ ἀντώμοσε σπουδὰς ἄξειν ἀδόλως, ὅρισά-
1 μειος τῆς πρίξεως τρεῖς μῆνας. ὁ μὲν δὴ
Τισσαφέρνης ἢ ὥμοσεν εὐθὺς ἐψεύσατο· ἀντὶ¹
γὰρ τοῦ εἰρήνην πράττειν στράτευμα πολὺ παρὰ
βασιλέως πρὸς ὃ πρόσθεν εἶχε μετεπέμπετο
Ἀγησίλαος δὲ καίπερ αἰσθόμενος ταῦτα ὅμως
2 ἐνέμειε ταῖς σπουδαῖς. ἐμοὶ οὖν τοῦτο πρῶτον
καλὸν δοκεῖ διαπράξασθαι, δτε Τισσαφέρνην μὲν
ἔμφαισας ἐπίορκον ἀπιστον πᾶσιν ἐποίησεν,
ἐαντὸν δ' ἀντεπιδείξας πρῶτον μὲν ὄρκους ἐμτε
ξοῦντα, ἔτειτα συνθήκας μὴ φευδόμειον, τάντας
ἐποίησε καὶ Ἑλληνας καὶ Θαρζύρους θαρροῦντας
συντίθεσθαι ἐαυτῷ, εἰ τι βούλοιτο.
3 Ἔτει δὲ μίγα φρονήσας ὁ Τισσαφέρνης ἐπὶ τῷ
καταβάντε στρατεύματι τροεῖτεν Ἀγησιλάῳ
πόλεμον, εἰ μὴ ἀτίοι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι
σιμμαχοι καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων οἱ παρόντες μάλα
ἀχθεσθεῖτες φαεροὶ ἐγένοντο, νομίζοντες μείονα

rather than a defensive war, and his wish to make the enemy pay for it rather than the Greeks, were enough to rouse an immediate and widespread enthusiasm for his project. But what appealed most to the imagination was the idea of entering on a struggle not to save Greece, but to subdue Asia.

And what of his strategy after he had received 9
the army and had ruled out? A simple narrative of his actions will assuredly convey the clearest impression of it. This, then, was his first act in Asia 10
Tissaphernes had sworn the following oath to Agesilaus "If you will arrange an armistice to last until the return of the messengers whom I will send to the King, I will do my utmost to obtain independence for the Greek cities in Asia", and Agesilaus on his part had sworn to observe the armistice honestly, allowing three months for the transaction. What followed? Tissaphernes forthwith broke his 11
oath, and instead of arranging a peace, applied to the King for a large army in addition to that which he had before. As for Agesilaus, though well aware of this, he none the less continued to keep the armistice. I think, therefore, that here we have his first noble 12 achievement. By showing up Tissaphernes as a perjurer, he made him distrusted everywhere, and, contrariwise, by proving himself to be a man of his word and true to his agreements, he encouraged all, Greeks and barbarians alike, to enter into an agreement with him whenever he wished it.

The arrival of the new army emboldened Tissaphernes to send an ultimatum to Agesilaus, threatening war unless he withdrew from Asia, and the allies and the Lacedaemonians present made no concealment of their chagrin, believing that the

- τὴν παροῦσαν δύναμιν Ἀγησίλαῳ τῆς βασιλέως
 παρασκευῆς εἴαις Ἀγησίλαος δὲ μάλα φαιδρῷ
 τῷ προσώπῳ ἀπαγγεῖλαι τῷ Τισσαφέρει τοὺς
 πρέσβεις ἐκέλευσεν, ὡς τολλήῃ χάριν αὐτῷ ἔχοι,
 ὅτι ἐπιορκήσας αὐτὸς μὲν πολεμίους τοὺς θεοὺς
 ἐκτήσατο, τοῖς δὲ Ἑλλησι συμμάχους ἐ-οίησεν.
 11 ἐκ δὲ τούτου εὐθὺς τοῖς μὲν στρατιώταις πα-
 ἔργα εἰλε συσκευάζεσθαι ὡς εἰς στρατείαν· ταῖς
 δὲ πόλεσιν, εἰς ἃς ἀνάγκη ἦν ἀφικιεῖσθαι στρα-
 τευομένῳ ἐπὶ Καρίαν, προεῖπεν ἄγορὰν παρ-
 σκευάζειν. ἐπέστειλε δὲ καὶ Ἰωσὶ καὶ Αἰολεῦσι
 καὶ Ἐλλησποντίοις πέμπειν πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς
 Ἐφεσον τοὺς συστρατευσομένους.
- 15 Ὁ μὲν οὖν Τισσαφέρνης, καὶ ὅτι ἵππικὸν οὐκ
 εἶχεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, ἡ δὲ Καρία ἀφιππος ἦν,
 καὶ ὅτι ἥγεῖτο αὐτὸν ὄργιζεσθαι αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν
 ἀπάτην, τῷ ὄντι νομίσας ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ οἶκον εἰς
 Καρίαν ὄρμήσειν αὐτὸν τὸ μὲν πεζὸν ἀπαν-
 διεβίβασεν ἐκεῖσε, τὸ δὲ ἵππικὸν εἰς τὸ Μα-
 ἀνδρον πεδίον περιήγαγε, νομίζων ἴκανὸς εἶναι
 καταπατῆσαι τῇ ἵππῳ τοὺς Ἑλληνας πρὶν εἰς τὰ
 16 δύσιππα ἀφικέσθαι. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἀντὶ τοῦ
 ἐπὶ Καρίαν ἵέναι εὐθὺς ἀντιστρέψας ἐπὶ Φρυγίας
 ἐπορεύετο· καὶ τὰς τε ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ ἀπαντώσας
 δυνάμεις ἀναλαμβάνων ἦγε καὶ τὰς πόλεις κατε-
 στρέφετο καὶ ἐμβαλὼν ἀπροσδοκήτως παμπληθῆ
 χρήματα ἔλαβε.
- 17 Στρατηγικὸν οὖν καὶ τοῦτο ἔδοκει διαπρά-
 ξασθαι, ὅτι ἐπεὶ πόλεμος προερρήθη καὶ τὸ
 ἔξαπατᾶν δσιόν τε καὶ δίκαιον ἐξ ἐκείνου ἐγένετο,
 παῖδα ἀπέδειξε τὸν Τισσαφέρνην τῇ ἀπάτῃ-
 φροιίμως δὲ καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἐνταῦθα ἔδοξε πλου-

strength of Agesilaus was weaker than the Persian king's armament. But Agesilaus with a beaming face bade the envoys of Tissaphernes inform their master that he was profoundly grateful to him for his perjury, by which he had gained the hostility of the gods for himself and had made them allies of the Greeks. Without a moment's delay he gave 14 the word to his troops to pack up in preparation for a campaign, and warned the cities that lay on the lines of march to Caria to have their markets ready stocked. He advised by letter the Greeks of Ionia, the Aeolid and the Hellespont, to send their contingents for the campaign to his headquarters at Ephesus.

Now Tissaphernes reflected that Agesilaus was 15 without cavalry, while Caria was a difficult country for mounted men, and he thought that Agesilaus was wroth with him on account of his deceit. Concluding, therefore, that his estate in Caria was the real object of the coming attack, he sent the whole of his infantry across to that district and took his cavalry round into the plain of the Maeander, confident that he could ride down the Greeks before they reached the country where cavalry could not operate. But 16 instead of marching on Caria, Agesilaus forthwith turned round and made for Phrygia. Picking up the various forces that met him on the route, he proceeded to reduce the cities and captured a vast quantity of booty by sudden attacks.

This achievement also was thought to be a proof 17 of sound generalship, that when war was declared and cozening in consequence became righteous and fair dealing, he showed Tissaphernes to be a child at deception. It was thought, too, that he made shrewd

τὴν παροῦσαν δύναμιν Ἀγησίλαῳ τῆς βασιλέως παρασκευῆς εἶναι· Ἀγησίλαος δὲ μάλα φαιδρῷ τῷ προσώπῳ ἀπαγγεῖλαι τῷ Τισσαφέρνῃ τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐκέλευσεν, ὡς πολλὴν χάριν αὐτῷ ἔχοι, ὅτι ἐπιορκήσας αὐτὸς μὲν πολεμίους τοὺς θεοὺς ἐκτήσατο, τοῖς δὲ "Ἐλλησι συμμάχους ἐποίησεν.

14 ἐκ δὲ τούτου εὐθὺς τοῖς μὲν στρατιώταις παρήγγειλε συσκευάζεσθαι ὡς εἰς στρατείαν· ταῖς δὲ πόλεσιν, εἰς ἣς ἀνάγκη ἦν ἀφικνεῖσθαι στρατευομένῳ ἐπὶ Καρίαν, προεἶπεν ἀγορὰν παρασκευάζειν. ἐπέστειλε δὲ καὶ Ἰωσὶ καὶ Αἰολεῦσι καὶ Ἐλλησποντίοις πέμπειν πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς Ἐφεσον τοὺς συστρατευσομένους.

15 Ὁ μὲν οὖν Τισσαφέρνης, καὶ ὅτι ἵππικὸν οὐκ εἶχεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, ἡ δὲ Καρία ἄφιππος ἦν, καὶ ὅτι ἥγειτο αὐτὸν ὀργίζεσθαι αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν ἀτάτην, τῷ δυτὶ νομίσας ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ οἴκον εἰς Καρίαν ὀρμήσειν αὐτὸν τὸ μὲν πεζὸν ἀπανδιεβίβασεν ἐκεῖσε, τὸ δὲ ἵππικὸν εἰς τὸ Μαϊάνδρου πεδίον περιήγαγε, νομίζων ἴκανὸς εἶναι καταπατῆσαι τῇ ἵππῳ τοὺς Ἐλληνας πρὶν εἰς τὰ

16 δύσιππα ὑφικέσθαι. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ Καρίαν ἰέναι εὐθὺς ἀντιστρέψας ἐπὶ Φρυγίας ἐπορεύετο· καὶ τάς τε ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ ἀπαντώσας δυνάμεις ἀναλαμβάνων ἥγε καὶ τὰς πόλεις κατεστρέφετο καὶ ἐμβαλὼν ἀπροσδοκήτως παμπληθῆ χρήματα ἔλαβε.

17 Στρατηγικὸν οὖν καὶ τοῦτο ἐδόκει διαπράξασθαι, ὅτι ἐπεὶ πόλεμος προερρήθη καὶ τὸ ἔξαπατᾶν δσιόν τε καὶ δίκαιον ἐξ ἐκείνου ἐγένετο, παῖδα ἀπέδειξε τὸν Τισσαφέρνην τῇ ἀπάτῃ φροιίμως δὲ καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἐνταῦθα ἐδοξε πλου-

strength of Agesilaus was weaker than the Persian king's armament. But Agesilaus with a beaming face bade the envoys of Tissaphernes inform their master that he was profoundly grateful to him for his perjury, by which he had gained the hostility of the gods for himself and had made them allies of the Greeks. Without a moment's delay he gave 14 the word to his troops to pack up in preparation for a campaign, and warned the cities that lay on the lines of march to Caria to have their markets ready stocked. He advised by letter the Greeks of Ionia, the Aeolid and the Hellespont, to send their contingents for the campaign to his headquarters at Ephesus.

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XENOPHON

- 18 τίσαι· ἐπεὶ γὰρ διὰ τὸ πολλὰ χρήματα εἰλῆφθαι
ἀντίπροικα τὰ πάντα ἐπωλεῖτο, τοῖς μὲν φίλοις
προεἶπεν ὡνεῖσθαι, εἰπὼν ὅτι καταβήσοιτο ἐπὶ¹
θάλατταν ἐν τάχει τὸ στράτευμα κατάγων τοὺς
δὲ λαφυροπώλας ἐκέλευσε γραφομένους, ὅπόσου
τι πρίαντο, προΐεσθαι τὰ χρήματα. ὥστε οὐδὲν
προτελέσαντες οἱ φίλοι αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ τὸ δημόσιον
βλάψαντες πάντες παμπληθῆ χρήματα ἔλαβον.
- 19 ἔτι δὲ ὅπότε αὐτόμολοι, ὡς εἰκός, πρὸς βασιλέα
ἴόντες χρήματα ἐθέλοιεν ὑφηγεῖσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα
ἐπεμέλετο ὡς διὰ τῶν φίλων ἀλίσκοιτο, ὅπως
ἄμα μὲν χρηματίζοιντο, ἄμα δὲ ἐνδοξότεροι γί-
γνοιντο. διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα εὐθὺς πολλοὺς ἐρασ-
τὰς τῆς αὐτοῦ φιλίας ἐποιήσατο.
- 20 Γεγνώσκων δ' ὅτι ἡ μὲν πορθουμένη καὶ
ἐρημουμένη χώρα οὐκ ἀν δύναιτο πολὺν χρόνον
στράτευμα φέρειν, ἡ δὲ οἰκουμένη μὲν σπειρομένη
δὲ ἀέναιον ἀν τὴν τροφὴν παρέχοι, ἐπεμέλετο οὐ
μόνον τοῦ βίᾳ χειροῦσθαι τοὺς ἐναντίους, ἀλλὰ
- 21 καὶ τοῦ πραότητι προσάγεσθαι. καὶ πολλάκις
μὲν προηγόρευε τοῖς στρατιώταις τοὺς ἀλισκο-
μένους μὴ ὡς ἀδίκους τιμωρεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ὡς
ἀνθρώπους δύτας φυλάττειν, πολλάκις δὲ ὅπότε
μεταστρατοπεδεύοιτο, εἰ αἰσθοῖτο καταλελειμ-
μένα παιδάρια μικρὰ¹ ἐμπόρων, ἢ πολλοὶ ἐπώ-
λουν διὰ τὸ νομίζειν μὴ δύνασθαι ἀν φέρειν αὐτὰ
καὶ τρέφειν, ἐπεμέλετο καὶ τούτων ὅπως συγ-
22 κομίζοιντό ποι. τοῖς δὲ αὖ διὰ γῆρας καταλει-

¹ μικρὰ MSS.: παρὰ S. with Reuchlin.

use of this occasion to enrich his friends. For the 18 accumulation of plunder was so great that things were selling for next to nothing. So he gave his friends the word to buy, saying that he was shortly going down to the coast with his army¹. The auctioneers were ordered to have a schedule made of the prices obtained and to give delivery of the goods. Thus without capital outlay, and without any loss to the treasury, all his friends made a prodigious amount of money. Further, whenever deserters offered to 19 give information where plunder might be taken, they naturally went to the king. In such a case he took care that the capture should be effected by his friends, so that they might at one and the same time make money and add to their laurels. The immediate result was that he had many ardent suitors for his friendship.

Recognizing that a country plundered and de 20 populated could not long support an army, whereas an inhabited and cultivated land would yield inexhaustible supplies, he took pains not only to crush his enemies by force, but also to win them over by gentleness. He would often warn his men not to 21 punish their prisoners as criminals, but to guard them as human beings, and often when shifting camp, if he noticed little children, the property of merchants, left behind—many merchants offered children for sale because they thought they would not be able to carry and feed them²—he looked after them too, and had them conveyed to some place of refuge. Again, he arranged that prisoners 22

¹ Where the goods would be re sold at a profit

² The dealers often failed to find a buyer and consequently abandoned these captured children

πομένοις αἰχμαλώτοις προσέταττεν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι
αὐτῶν, ὡς μήτε ὑπὸ κυνῶν μῆθ' ὑπὸ λύκων
διαφθείροιντο. ὥστε οὐ μόνον οἱ πυνθανόμενοι
ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ ἀλισκόμενοι εὑμενεῖς
αὐτῷ ἐγίγγοντο. ὅπόσας δὲ πόλεις προσαγάγοιτο,
ἀφαιρῶν αὐτῶν ὅσα δοῦλοι δεσπόταις ὑπηρετοῦσι,
προσέταττεν ὅσα ἐλεύθεροι ἄρχουσι πείθονται
καὶ τῶν κατὰ κράτος ἀναλώτων τειχέων τῇ
φιλανθρωπίᾳ ὑπὸ χεῖρα ἐποιεῖτο.

- 23 Ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἀνὰ τὰ πεδία οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ Φρυγίᾳ
ἐδύνατο στρατεύεσθαι διὰ τὴν Φαρναβάζου
ἰππείαν, ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ ἵππικὸν κατασκευαστέον
εἶναι, ὡς μὴ δραπετεύοντα πολεμεῖν δέοι αὐτόν.
τοὺς μὲν οὖν πλουσιωτάτους ἐκ πασῶν τῶν ἐκεῖ
24 πόλεων ἵπποτροφεῖν κατέλεξε. προεἶπε δέ, ὅστις
παρέχοιτο ἵππουν καὶ ὅπλα καὶ ἄνδρα δόκιμον,
ὡς ἔξεσοιτο αὐτῷ μὴ στρατεύεσθαι· καὶ ἐποίησεν
οὗτως ἕκαστον προθύμως ταῦτα πράττειν, ὥσπερ
ἄν τις τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀποθανούμενον προθύμως
μαστεύοι. ἔταξε δὲ καὶ πόλεις, ἐξ ὧν δέοι τοὺς
ἵππεας παρασκευάζειν, νομίζων ἐκ τῶν ἵππο-
τρόφων πόλεων εὐθὺς καὶ φρονηματίας μάλιστα
ἄν ἐπὶ τῇ ἵππικῇ γενέσθαι. καὶ τοῦτ'. οὖν
ἀγαστῶς ἔδοξε πρᾶξαι, ὅτι κατεσκεύαστο τὸ
ἵππικὸν αὐτῷ καὶ εὐθὺς ἐρρωμένον ἦν καὶ
ἐνεργόν.

- 25 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔαρ ὑπέφαινε, συνήγαγε πᾶν τὸ
στράτευμα εἰς Ἔφεσον· ἀσκῆσαι δὲ¹ αὐτὸ
βουλόμενος ἀθλα προϋθηκε καὶ ταῖς ἵππικαῖς
τάξεσιν, ἥτις κράτιστα ἵππεύοι, καὶ ταῖς ὄπλιτι-

¹ The MSS. of the *Hellenica* have δε correctly: the MSS. have καὶ here: δὲ καὶ S.

of war who were too old to accompany the army were to be looked after, that they might not fall a prey to dogs or wolves. It thus came about that he won the goodwill not only of those who heard of these facts, but even of the prisoners themselves. In his settlement with the cities that he won over, he invariably excused them from all servile duties and required only such obedience as freemen owe to their rulers, and by his clemency he made himself master of fortresses impregnable to assault.

However, since a campaign in the plains was impossible even in Phrygia, owing to Pharnabizus' cavalry, he decided that he must raise a mounted force, if he was to avoid continually running away from the enemy. He therefore enrolled the wealthiest men in all the cities therabouts as breeders of horses, and issued a proclamation that anyone who supplied a horse and arms and an efficient man should be exempt from personal service. In this way he brought it about that every one of them carried out these requirements with the zeal of a man in quest of someone to die in his stead. He also specified cities that were to furnish contingents of cavalry, feeling sure that from the horse breeding cities riders proud of their horsemanship would be forthcoming. This again was considered an admirable stroke on his part, that no sooner had he raised his cavalry than it became a powerful body ready for action.

At the first sign of spring¹ he collected the whole of his forces at Ephesus. With a view to their training he offered prizes for the cavalry squadron that rode best, and for the company of heavy in-

¹ 395 B.C.

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αὐτῶν, ώς μήτε ὑπὸ κυνῶν μῆθ' ὑπὸ λύκων
διαφθείροιντο. ὥστε οὐ μόνον οἱ πυνθανόμενοι
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¹ The MSS. of the *Hellenica* have δ' correctly: the MSS. have καὶ here: δὲ καὶ S.

of strength. For all the nations of the empire sent embassies seeking his friendship, and the desire for freedom caused many to revolt to him, so that not Greeks alone, but many barbarians also now acknowledged the leadership of Agesilaus.

His conduct at this juncture also merits unstinted admiration. Though ruler of countless cities on the mainland, and master of islands—for the state had now added the fleet to his command—becoming daily more famous and more powerful, placed in a position to make what use he would of his many opportunities, and designing and expecting to crown his achievements by dissolving the empire that had attacked Greece in the past he suppressed all thought of these things, and as soon as he received a request from the home government to come to the aid of his fatherland, he obeyed the call of the state, just as though he were standing in the Ephors' palace¹ alone before the Five, thus showing clearly that he would not take the whole earth in exchange for his fatherland, nor new found friends for old, and that he scorned to choose base and secure gains rather than that which was right and honourable, even though it was dangerous.

Throughout the time that he remained in his command, another achievement of his showed beyond question how admirable was his skill in statesmanship. Having found all the cities that he had gone out to govern rent by faction in consequence of the political disturbances that followed on the collapse of the Athenian empire, he brought it about by the influence of his presence that the communities lived in unbroken harmony and prosperity without recourse to banishment or executions. Therefore the

λάου πολὺ ἐρρωμενέστερα. ἀπὸ πάντων γὰρ τῶν ἔθνῶν ἐπρεσβεύοιτο περὶ φιλίας, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἀφίσταντο πρὸς αὐτὸν ὄρεγόμενοι τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ, ὡστε οὐκέτι Ἑλλήνων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ βαρβάρων πολλῶν ἥγεμὸν ἦν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος.

36 "Αξιόν" γε μὴν καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ὑπερβαλλόντως ἄγασθαι αὐτοῦ, ὅστις ἀρχῶν μὲν παμπόλλων ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ πόλεων, ἀρχῶν δὲ καὶ νήσων, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν προσῆψεν αὐτῷ ἡ πόλις, αὐξανόμενος δὲ καὶ εὐκλείᾳ καὶ δυνάμει, παρὸν δὲ αὐτῷ πολλοῖς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς χρῆσθαι ὃ τι ἐβούλετο, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὸ μέγιστον, ἐπινοῶν καὶ ἐλπίζων καταλύστειν τὴν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατεύσασαν πρότερον ἀρχὴν ὅμως ὑπ' οὐδενὸς τούτων ἐκρατήθη, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἥλθεν αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τῶν οἴκοι τελῶν βοηθεῖν τῇ πατρίδι, ἐπείθετο τῇ πόλει οὐδὲν διαφερόντως ἡ εἰ ἐν τῷ ἐφορείῳ ἔτυχεν ἐστηκὼς μόνος παρὰ τοὺς πέντε, μάλα ἔνδηλον ποιῶν, ὡς οὕτε ἀν πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν δέξαιτο ἀντὶ τῆς πατρίδος οὕτε τοὺς ἐπικτήτους ἀντὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων φίλων οὕτε αἰσχρὰ καὶ ἀκίνδυνα κέρδη μᾶλλον ἢ μετὰ κινδύνων τὰ καλὰ καὶ δίκαια.

37 "Οσον γε μὴν χρόνον ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ ἔμεινε, πῶς οὐκ ἀξιεπάίνου βασιλέως καὶ τοῦτ' ἔργον ἐπεδείξατο, ὅστις παραλαβὼν πάσας πόλεις, ἐφ' ἄς ἄρξων ἔξεπλευσε, στασιαζούσας διὰ τὸ τὰς πολιτείας κινηθῆναι, ἐπειλαβών τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐληξαρ, ἐποίησεν ὡστ' ἀνευ φυγῆς καὶ θανάτων, ἔως αὐτὸς παρῆν, ὅμονός πολιτευομένας καὶ εὐδαιμονας τὰς πόλεις διατελέσται; τοιγαροῦν οἱ

³ In the market at Sparta. The Five Ephors sat there daily, and it was in their power to censure the king.

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ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ "Ελληνες οὐχ ὡς ἀρχοιτος μόιον,
ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς πατρὸς καὶ ἑταίρου ἀπιόντος αὐτοῦ
ἔλυπούντο. καὶ τέλος ἐδήλωσαν, δτε οὐ πλαστὴν
τὴν φιλίαν παρεῖχοντο. ἐθελούσιοι γοῦν αὐτῷ
συνεβούθησαν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι, καὶ ταῦτα εἰδότες,
ὅτι οὐ χείροσιν ἔαυτῶν δεήσοι μάχεσθαι. τῶν
μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πράξεων τοῦτο τέλος
ἔγένετο.

II. Διαβὰς δὲ τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον ἐπορεύετο
διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔθνῶν ὡνπερ ὁ Πέρσης τῷ
παμπληθεῖ στόλῳ καὶ οὐν ἐνιαυσίαν ὁδὸν ὁ
βάρβαρος ἐποιήσατο, ταύτην μεῖον η̄ ἐν μηνὶ²
κατήνυσσεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος. οὐ γὰρ ὡς ὑστερίστειε
τῆς πατρίδος προεθυμεῖτο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔξαμείψας
Μακεδονίαν εἰς Θετταλίαν ἀφίκετο, Λαρισαῖοι μὲν
καὶ Κρανιώνιοι καὶ Σκοτουσσαῖοι καὶ Φαρσάλιοι
σύμμαχοι ὄντες Βοιωτοῖς καὶ πάντες δὲ Θετταλοὶ
πλὴν δοτοι αὐτῶν φυγάδες τότε ὄντες ἐτύγχανον,
ἐκακούργουν οὗτοι ἐφεπόμενοι. ὁ δὲ τέως μὲν
ἡγεν ἐν πλαισίῳ τὸ στράτευμα, τοὺς ἡμίσεις μὲν
ἐμπροσθεν, τοὺς ἡμίσεις δὲ ἐπ' οὐρὰν ἔχων τῶν
ἰππέων ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκώλυον τῆς πορείας αὐτὸν οἱ
Θετταλοὶ ἐπιτιθέμενοι τοῖς ὅπισθεν, παραπέμπει
ἐπ' οὐρὰν καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ προηγουμένου στρα-
τεύματος ἵππικὸν πλὴν τῶν περὶ αὐτόν. ὡς δὲ
παρετάξαντο ἀλλήλοις, οἱ μὲν Θετταλοί, νομί-
σαντες οὐκ ἐν καλῷ εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς ὅπλιτας
ἰππομαχεῖν, στρέψαντες βάδην ἀπεχώρουν· οἱ δὲ
μάλα σωφρόνως ἐφείποντο. γνοὺς δὲ ὁ Ἀγησί-
λαος ἢ ἐκάτεροι ἡμάρτανον παραπέμπει τοὺς
ἄμφ' αὐτὸν μάλ' εὐρωστοὺς ἵππέας καὶ κελεύει
τοῖς τε ἄλλοις παραγγέλλειν καὶ αὐτοὺς διώκειν

Greeks in Asia mourned his departure as though they were bidding farewell not merely to a ruler, but to a father or a comrade. And at the end they showed that their affection was unfeigned. At any rate they went with him voluntarily to aid Sparta, knowing as they did that they must meet an enemy not inferior to themselves. This then was the end of his activities in Asia.

II. After crossing the Hellespont, he passed through the very same tribes as the Persian king with his mighty host, and the distance that had been traversed by the barbarian in a year was covered by Agesilaus in less than a month. For he had no intention of arriving too late to aid his fatherland. When he had passed through Macedonia and reached ² Thessaly, the people of Larisa, Crannon, Scotussa and Pharsalus, who were allies of the Boeotians, all the Thessalians, in fact, except those who happened to be in exile at the time, followed at his heels and kept molesting him. For a time he led the army in a hollow square, with one half of the cavalry in front and the other half in the rear; but finding his progress hampered by Thessalian attacks on his rearguard, he sent round all the cavalry from the vanguard to the rear, except his own escort. When ³ the two forces faced one another in line of battle, the Thessalians, believing it inexpedient to engage heavy infantry with cavalry, wheeled round and slowly retired, their enemy following very cautiously. Agesilaus, noticing the errors into which both sides were falling, now sent round his own escort of stalwart horsemen, with orders to bid the others to charge at full speed, and to do the same themselves,

κατὰ κράτος καὶ μηκέτι δοῦναι αὐτοῖς ἀναστροφήν.
 οἱ δὲ Θετταλοὶ ὡς εἶδον παρὰ δόξαν ἐλαύνοντας,
 οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν οὐδὲ ἀνέστρεψαν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀνα-
 στρέφειν πειρώμενοι πλαγίους ἔχοντες τοὺς ἵππους
 4 ἥλισκοντο. Πολύχαρμος μέντοι ὁ Φαρσάλιος
 ἵππαρχῶν ἀνέστρεψέ τε καὶ μαχόμενος σὺν τοῖς
 ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἀποθυήσκει. ὡς δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο,
 φυγὴ γίγνεται ἔξαισία· ὥσθ' οἱ μὲν ἀπέθυησκον
 αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ζῶντες ἥλισκοντο. ἔστησαν δ'
 οὖν οὐ πρόσθεν, πρὶν ἡ ἐπὶ τῷ ὅρει τῷ Ναρθακίῳ
 5 ἐγένοντο. καὶ τότε μὲν δὴ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τρόπαιον
 τε ἔστησατο μεταξὺ Πραντὸς καὶ Ναρθακίου·
 καὶ αὐτοῦ κατέμεινε μάλα ἥδομενος τῷ ἔργῳ, ὅτι
 τοὺς μέγιστουν φρονοῦντας ἐφ' ἵππικῇ ἐνεικήκει
 σὺν φιλίᾳ αὐτὸς ἐμηχανήσατο ἵππικῷ.

Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ὑπερβάλλων τὰ Ἀχαϊκὰ τῆς
 Φθίας ὅρη τὴν λοιπὴν ἥδη πᾶσαν διὰ φιλίας
 6 ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὰ Βοιωτῶν ὅρια. ἐνταῦθα δὴ
 ἀντιτεταγμένους εὑρὼν Θηβαίους, Ἀθηναίους,
 Ἀργείους, Κορινθίους, Αἰνιάνας, Εύβοέας καὶ
 Λοκροὺς ἀμφοτέρους οὐδὲν ἐμέλλησεν, ἀλλ' ἐκ
 τοῦ φανεροῦ ἀντιπαρέταττε, Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν
 ἔχων μόραν καὶ ἡμισυ, τῶν δὲ αὐτόθεν συμμάχων
 Φωκέας καὶ Ὁρχομενίους μόνους τό τ' ἄλλο
 7 στράτευμα, ὅπερ ἤγαγετο αὐτός. καὶ οὐ τοῦτο
 λέξων ἔρχομαι, ὡς πολὺ μὲν ἐλάττους, πολὺ δὲ
 χείρονας ἔχων ὅμως συνέβαλεν εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα
 λέγοιμι, Ἀγησίλαόν τ' ἂν μοι δοκῶ ἄφρονα
 ἀποφαίνειν καὶ ἐμαυτὸν μῶρον, εἰ ἐπαινοίην τὸν
 περὶ τῶν μεγίστων εἰκῇ κινδυνεύοντα· ἀλλὰ
 μᾶλλον τάδ' αὐτοῦ ἄγαμαι, ὅτι πλήθος τε οὐδὲν

and not to give the enemy a chance of rallying. As for the Thessalians, on seeing the unexpected charge they either did not rally at all, or were captured in the attempt to do so with their horses broadside to the enemy. Polycharmus the Pharsalian, commander ⁴ of the cavalry, did indeed turn, and fell fighting along with those about him. Hereupon ensued a wild flight, so that some of the enemy were killed and some were taken prisoners; at any rate they never halted until they reached Mt. Narthacium. On that day Agesilaus set up a trophy between ⁵ Pras and Narthacium, and here for the moment he paused, mightily pleased with his exploit, since he had defeated an enemy inordinately proud of his horsemanship with the cavalry that he had himself created.

On the morrow he crossed the Achaean mountains in Phthia, and now his route led him through friendly country till he reached the borders of Boeotia. Here he found arrayed against him the Thebans, ⁶ Athenians, Argives, Corinthians, Aemianians, Euboeans, and both the Locrian tribes. Without a moment's delay, in full view of the enemy, he drew up his army for battle. In addition to the army that he had brought with him he had a regiment and a half of Lacedaemonians, and of the local allies only the Phocians and Orchomenians. Now I am not going ⁷ to say that his forces were far inferior in numbers and in quality, and that nevertheless he accepted battle. That statement, I think, would but show a want of common sense in Agesilaus and my own folly in praising a leader who wantonly jeopardised interests of vital moment. On the contrary—and this is what I do admire him for—he brought into

μείον ἢ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων παρεσκευάσατο ὥπλισέ
τε οὗτως, ὡς ἀπαντα μὲν χαλκόν, ἀπαντα δὲ
8 φοινικᾶ φαίνεσθαι ἐπεμελήθη δ', ὅπως οἱ στρα-
τιῶται τοὺς πόνους δυνήσοιντο ὑποφέρειν· ἐνέ-
πλησε δὲ καὶ φρονήματος τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν, ὡς
ἴκανοι εἰεν πρὸς οὖστινας δέοι μάχεσθαι· ἔτι
δὲ φιλονικίαν ἐνέβαλε πρὸς ἄλληλους τοῖς μετ'
αὐτοῦ, ὅπως ἔκαστοι αὐτῶν ἄριστοι φαίνοιντο.
ἔλπίδων γε μὴν πάντας ἐνέπλησεν, ὡς πᾶσι
πολλὰ κύγαθὰ ἔσοιτο, εἰς ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γίγνοιντο,
νομίζων ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων ἀνθρώπους προθυμό-
τατα τοῖς πολεμίοις μάχεσθαι. καὶ μέντοι οὐκ
ἐψεύσθη.

9 Διηγήσομαι δὲ καὶ τὴν μάχην· καὶ γὰρ ἐγένετο
οἵαπερ οὐκ ἄλλῃ τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῶν. συνηεσαν μὲν
γὰρ εἰς τὸ κατὰ Κορώνειαν πεδίον οἱ μὲν σὺν
'Αγησιλάῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ Κηφισοῦ, οἱ δὲ σὺν τοῖς
Θηβαίοις ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἐλικῶνος. ἐώρων δὲ τὰς τε
φάλαγγας ἄλληλων μάλα ἴσομάχους, σχεδὸν δὲ
καὶ οἱ ἵππεῖς ἦσαν ἑκατέρων ἴσοπληθεῖς. εἶχε
δὲ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν τοῦ μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ,
'Ορχομένιοι δὲ ἐσχατοὶ ἦσαν αὐτῷ τοῦ εὐωνύμου.
οἱ δ' αὖ Θηβαῖοι αὐτοὶ μὲν δεξιοὶ ἦσαν, Ἀργεῖοι
10 δ' αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐώνυμον εἶχον. συνιόντων δὲ τέως
μὲν σιγῇ πολλὴ ἦν ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων· ἡγίκα δὲ
ἀπεῖχον ἄλληλων δύσον στάδιον, ἀλαλάξαντες οἱ
Θηβαῖοι δρόμῳ ὅμόσε τέφέροντο. ὡς δὲ τριῶν
ἔτι πλέθρων ἐν μέσῳ δυτῶν ἀντεξέδραμον ἀπὸ
τῆς Ἀγησιλάου φάλαγγος ὡν Ἡριππίδας ἔξε-
νάγει (ἦσαν δ' οὐτοι τῶν τε ἐξ οἰκου αὐτῷ
11 συστρατευσαμένων καὶ τῶν Κυρείων τινές) καὶ
'Ιωνες δὲ καὶ Λίολεῖς καὶ Ἐλλησπόντιοι ἔχόμενοι.

the field an army not a whit inferior to the enemy's, he so armed it that it looked one solid mass of bronze and scutlet, he took care to render his men capable of meeting all evils on their endurance, he filled their hearts with confidence that they were able to withstand any and every enemy, he inspired them all with an eager determination to out do one another in valour, and lastly he filled all with anticipation that many good things would befall them, if only they proved good men. For he believed that men so prepared fight with all their might, nor in point of fact did he deceive himself.

I will describe the battle, for there has been none like it in our time. The two armies met in the plain of Coronae, Agesilaus advancing from the Cephissus, the Thebans and their allies from Helicon. Their eyes told them that the opposing lines of battle were exactly matched in strength, and the number of cavalry on both sides was about the same. Agesilaus was on the right wing of his army and had the Orchomenians on his extreme left. On the other side the Thebans themselves were on the right wing and the Argives held the left. As they approached both sides for a time maintained complete silence, but when they were about a furlong apart, the Thebans raised the battle cry and rushed forward at the double. The distance between them was still about one hundred yards when the mercenary troops under Herippidas, consisting of the men who had gone with Agesilaus from home and some of the Cyrenians, dashed out in turn from their main body, closely followed by Ionians, Aeolians and

¹ The parenthesis is due to Lippelt S, with the MSS., has a full stop after ἐγερδεις and no break after ταῦτα.

καὶ πάντες οὗτοι τῶν συνεκδραμόντων τε ἐγένοντο
καὶ εἰς δόρυ ἀφικόμενοι ἐτρέψαντο τὸ καθ' ἑα-
τούς. Ἀργεῖοι μέντοι οὐκ ἔδέξαντο τοὺς ἀμφὶ¹
Ἀγησίλαον, ἀλλ' ἔφυγον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐλικῶνα.
κάνταῦθα οἱ μέν τινες τῶν ξένων ἐστεφάνουν
ἡδη τὸν Ἀγησίλαον, ἀγγέλλει δέ τις αὐτῷ, ὅτι
Θηβαῖοι τοὺς Ὀρχομενίους διακόψαντες ἐν τοῖς
σκευοφάροις εἰσί. καὶ ὁ μὲν εὐθὺς ἔξελίξας τὴν
φάλαγγα ἦγεν ἐπ' αὐτούς· οἱ δ' αὖ Θηβαῖοι ὡς
ἔδον τοὺς συμμάχους πρὸς τῷ Ἐλικῶνι πεφευ-
γότας, διαπεσεῖν βουλόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτῶν
ἔχώρουν ἕρρωμένως.

12 Ἐνταῦθα δὴ Ἀγησίλαον ἀνδρεῖον μὲν ἔξεστιν
εἰπεῖν ἀναμφιλόγως, οὐ μέντοι εἶλετό γε τὰ
ἀσφαλέστατα· ἔξὸν γὰρ αὐτῷ παρέντι τοὺς δια-
πίπτοιτας ἐπομένῳ χειροῦσθαι τοὺς ὅπισθεν οὐκ
ἐποίησε τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἀντιμέτωπος συνέρραξε τοῖς
Θηβαίοις. καὶ συμβαλόντες τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐω-
θοῦντο, ἐμάχοντο, ἀπέκτεινον, ἀπέθνησκον. καὶ
κραυγὴ μὲν οὐδεμία παρῆν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ σιγή,
φωνὴ δέ τις ἦν τοιαύτῃ, οἷαν ὄργη τε καὶ μάχη
παράσχοιτ' αὐ. τέλος δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων οἱ μὲν
διαπίπτουσι πρὸς τὸν Ἐλικῶνα, πολλοὶ δ' ἀπο-
χωροῦντες ἀπέθανον.

13 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ μὲν νίκη σὺν Ἀγησίλᾳ ἐγένετο,
τετρωμένος δ' αὐτὸς προσηνέχθη πρὸς τὴν φά-
λαγγα, προσελάσαντές τινες τῶν ἵππέων λέγου-
σιν αὐτῷ, ὅτι τῶν πολεμίων ὄγδοήκοντα σὺν
τοῖς ὅπλοις ὑπὸ τῷ ναῷ εἰσι, καὶ ἥρωτων, τί χρή
ποιεῖν. ὁ δὲ καίπερ πολλὰ τραύματα ἔχων
πάντοσε καὶ παντοῖοις ὅπλοις ὅμως οὐκ ἐπε-

Hellespontines All these took part in the dash, and coming within spear-thrust put to flight the force in front of them As for the Argives, they fled towards Helicon without awaiting the attack of Agesilaus And now some of the mercenaries were in the act of crowning Agesilaus with a wreath, when a man reported to him that the Thebans had cut their way through the Orchomenians and were among the biggige train So he immediately wheeled his main body and advanced agunst them, and the Thebans in their turn, seeing that their allies had sought refuge at the foot of Mt Helicon, and wanting to break through and join their friends, made a strong move forward

At this juncture one may say without fear of 12 contradiction that Agesilaus showed courage, but the course that he adopted was not the safest For he might have allowed the men who were trying to break through to pass, and then have followed them and annihilated those in the rear Instead of doing that he made a furious frontal attack on the Thebans Thrusting shield against shield, they shoved and fought and killed and fell There was no shouting, nor was there silence, but the strange noise that wrath and battle together will produce In the end some of the Thebans broke through and reached Helicon, but many fell during the retreat

The victory lay with Agesilaus, but he himself 13 had been carried wounded to his battle line, when some horsemen rode up, and told him that eighty of the enemy retaining their arms had taken cover in the temple, and they asked what they should do Though wounded in every part of his body with every sort of weapon, he did not

λάθετο τοῦ θείου, ἀλλ' εὖ τε ἀπιέραι ὅποι
βούληστο ἐκέλευε καὶ μέτειπνον οὐκ εἴα καὶ προ-
πέμψαι ἐπέταξε τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἵππεῖς, ἔστε ἴε-
τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἐγένοιτο.

- 14 Ἐπεὶ γε μὴν ἐληξεν ἡ μάχη, παρῆν δὴ θεά-
σασθαι, εἰθα συνέπεσον ἄλλήλοις, τὴν μὲν γῆν
αἷματι πεφυρμένην, νεκροὺς δὲ κειμένους φιλίους
καὶ πολεμίους μετ' ἄλλήλων, ἀσπίδας δὲ διατε-
θρυμμένας, δόρατα συντεθραυσμένα, ἐγχειρίδια
γυμνὰ κολεῶν, τὰ μὲν χαμαί, τὰ δ' ἐν σώματι,¹
15 τὰ δ' ἔτι μετὰ χεῖρας. τότε μὲν οὖν, καὶ γὰρ ἦν
ἡδη ὁψέ, συνελκύσαντες τοὺς τῶν πολεμίων
νεκροὺς εἴσω φάλαγγος ἐδειπνοποιήσαντο καὶ
ἐκοιμήθησαν πρωὶ δὲ Γῦλιν τὸν πολέμαρχον
παρατάξαι τε ἐκέλευσε τὸ στράτευμα καὶ τρό-
παιον ἵστασθαι καὶ στεφανοῦσθαι πάντας τῷ
θεῷ καὶ τοὺς αὐλητὰς πάντας αὐλεῖν.
16 Καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτ' ἐποίουν οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι
ἐπεμψαν κήρυκα, ὑποσπόνδους τοὺς νεκροὺς
αἰτοῦντες θάψαι. καὶ οὕτως δὴ αὖτε σπονδαὶ
γίγνονται καὶ ὁ Ἀγησάλαος οἰκαδε ἀπεχώρει,
ἔλόμενος ἀντὶ τοῦ μέγιστος εἶναι ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ
οἴκοι τὰ νόμιμα μὲν ἄρχειν, τὰ νόμιμα δὲ
ἄρχεσθαι.

- 17 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου κατανοήσας τοὺς Ἀργείους τὰ
μὲν οἴκοι καρπουμένους, Κόρινθον δὲ προσειλη-
φότας, ἥδομένους δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ στρατεύει ἐπ'
αὐτούς· καὶ δηώσας πᾶσαν αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν

¹ σάματι MSS.: σάμασι S.

forgot his duty towards the gods, but gave orders that these men should be suffered to go whithersoever they wished, and would not suffer them to be harmed, and charged his escort of cavalry to conduct them to a place of safety.

Now that the fighting was at an end, a weird 14 spectacle met the eye, as one surveyed the scene of the conflict—the earth stained with blood, friend and foe lying dead side by side, shields smashed to pieces, spears snapped in two, daggers bared of their sheaths, some on the ground, some embedded in the bodies, some yet gripped by the hand. Then, 15 as the day was far spent, having dragged the enemy's dead¹ within their battle line, they supped and slept. Early next morning Agesilaus ordered Gylis, the polemarch, to draw up the army in battle order and to set up a trophy, and to command every man to wear a wreath in honour of the god² and all the flute players to play.

Now while they were carrying out these orders the 16 Thebans sent a herald, asking leave to bury their dead under protection of a truce. And so a truce was made, and Agesilaus left for home, choosing, instead of supreme power in Asia, to rule and to be ruled at home according to the constitution.

Some time afterwards, finding that the Argives 17 were enjoying the fruits of their land, that they had appropriated Corinth and were finding the war a pleasant occupation, he made an expedition against them. He first laid waste all their territory, then

¹ In order that the Thebans might not recover them. But some think τῶν πολεμίων corrupt.

² Apollo.

εὐθὺς ἐκεῖθεν ὑπερβαλὼν κατὰ τὰ στενὰ εἰς Κόρινθον αἱρεῖ τὰ ἐπὶ τὸ Λέχαιον τείνοντα τείχη καὶ ἀναπετάσας τῆς Πελοποννήσου τὰς πύλας οὗτως οἴκαδε ἀπελθὼν εἰς τὰ Ἐπανίθια, ὅπου ἐτάχθη ὑπὸ τοῦ χοροποιοῦ, τὸν παιᾶν τῷ θεῷ συνεπετέλει.

- 18 Ἐκ τούτου δὲ αἰσθανόμενος τοὺς Κορινθίους πάντα μὲν τὰ κτήνη ἐν τῷ Πειραιῷ σωζομένους, πᾶν δὲ τὸ Πείραιον σπείροντας καὶ καρπουμένους, μέγιστον δὲ ἡγησάμενος, ὅτι Βοιωτὸν ταύτη ἐκ Κρεύσιος ὄρμώμενοι εὔπετῶς τοῖς Κορινθίοις παρεγίγνουντο, στρατεύει ἐπὶ τὸ Πείραιον. ίδων δὲ ὑπὸ πολλῶν φυλαττόμενον, ὡς ἐνδιδομένης τῆς πόλεως, ἐξ ἀρίστου μετεστρατοπεδεύσατο
 19 πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ νύκτα βεβοηθηκότας ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιοῦ εἰς τὴν πόλιν πασσυδίᾳ, ὑποστρέψας ἀμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ αἱρεῖ τὸ Πείραιον ἔρημον εὐρῶν φυλακῆς καὶ τά τε ἄλλα τὰ ἐνόντα λαμβάνει καὶ τὰ τείχη, ἀ ἐνετετέλχιστο ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας οἴκαδε ἀπεχώρησε.
 20 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα προθύμων ὅντων τῶν Ἀχαιῶν εἰς τὴν συμμαχίαν καὶ δεομένων συστρατεύειν αὐτοῖς εἰς Ἀκαρνανίαν . . .¹ καὶ ἐπιθεμένων ἐν στενοῖς τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων καταλαβὼν τοῖς ψιλοῖς τὰ ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς αὐτῶν μάχην συνάπτει καὶ

¹ There is no indication of a gap in S

¹ The MSS. of *Hellenica*, iv. iv. 19 give κατὰ Τεγέαν in the corresponding passage, this is corrected to κατὰ Τενέα, "by way of Tenea," which is probably the right reading here

crossed to Corinth by the pass¹ and captured the walls leading to Lechaeum. Having thus unbarr'd the gates of Peloponnese, he returned home for the festival of Hyacinthus² and joined in singing the paean in honour of the god,³ taking the place assigned to him by the choirmaster.

After a time, discovering that the Corinthians¹⁸ were keeping all their cattle safe in Peiraeum, and sowing and reaping the crops throughout that district, and—what he thought most serious—that the Boeotians were finding this route convenient for sending support to the Corinthians, with Creusis as their base, he marched against Peiraeum. Seeing that it was strongly guarded, he moved his camp after the morning meal to a position before the capital, as though the city was about to surrender. But becoming aware that supports had been hurriedly¹⁹ poured into the city during the night from Peiraeum, he turned about at daybreak and captured Penaeum, finding it undefended, and everything in it, along with the fortresses that stood there, fell into his hands. Having done this, he returned home.

After these events, the Achaeans, who were zealous²⁰ advocates of the alliance, begged him to join them in an expedition against Acarnania.⁴ And when the Acarnanians attacked him in a mountain pass he seized the heights above their heads with his light infantry,⁵ fought an engagement and, after inflicting

¹ Celebrated annually at Amyclae, early in the summer.

² Apollo, who had accidentally killed Hyacinthus.

³ Something seems to be lost here, probably a passage that ended with the words *συστρατευει αυτοις εις Ακαρνανας*.

⁴ The words *τοις ψιλοις* are probably a correction by X.; he says the heights were taken by the heavy infantry in *Hellenica*, IV. vi. 11.

πολλοὺς ἀποκτείνας αὐτῶν τρόπαιον ἔστησατο
καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἔληξε, πρὶν Ἀχαιοῖς μὲν φίλους
ἐποίησεν Ἀκαρυᾶνας καὶ Αἰτωλοὺς καὶ Ἀρ-
γείους, ἑαυτῷ δὲ καὶ συμμάχους.

- 21 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμησάντες οἱ πολέμαι
ἐπρεσβεύοντο, Ἀγησίλαος ἀντεἶπε τῇ εἰρήνῃ, ἵνα
τοὺς διὰ Λακεδαιμονίους φυγόντας Κορινθίους καὶ
Θηβαίους ἡνάγκασε τὰς πόλεις οἴκαδε καταδέ-
ξασθαι. ὕστερον δὲ αὖ καὶ Φλειασίους τοὺς
διὰ Λακεδαιμονίους φυγόντας κατήγαγεν, αὐτὸς
στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ Φλειοῦντα. εἰ δέ τις ἄλλη
πη ταῦτα μέμφεται, ἀλλ' οὐν φιλεταιρίᾳ γε
22 πραχθέντα φανερά ἔστι. καὶ γὰρ ἐπεὶ τοὺς ἐν
Θῆβαις τῶν Λακεδαιμονίους κατέκανον οἱ ἔναντιοι,
βοηθῶν αὖ τούτοις στρατεύει ἐπὶ τὰς Θῆβας.
εύρων δὲ ἀποτεταφρευμένα καὶ ἀπεσταυρωμένα
ἄπαντα, ὑπερβὰς τὰς Κυνὸς κεφαλὰς ἐδήν τὴν
χώραν μέχρι τοῦ ἄστεος, παρέχων καὶ ἐν πεδίῳ
καὶ ἀνὰ τὰ δρη μάχεσθαι Θηβαῖοις, εἰ βούλοιντο.
ἔστρατευσε δὲ καὶ τῷ ἐπιόντι ἔτει πάλιν ἐπὶ¹
Θῆβας καὶ ὑπερβὰς τὰ κατὰ Σκῶλον σταυ-
ρώματα καὶ τάφρους ἐδῆωσε τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς
Βοιωτίας.
- 23 Τὰ μὲν δὴ μέχρι τούτου κοινῇ αὐτός τε καὶ ἡ
πόλις εὔτύχει· ὅσα γε μὴν μετὰ τοῦτο σφάλματα
έγενοντο οὐδεὶς ἀν εἴποι ως Ἀγησίλαου ἥγουμένου
ἐπράχθη. ἐπεὶ δὲ αὖ τῆς ἐν Δεύκτροις συμφορᾶς
γεγενημένης κατακαίνουσι τοὺς ἐν Τεγέᾳ φίλους
καὶ ξένους αὐτοῦ οἱ ἀντίπαλοι σὺν Μαυτινεῦσι,
συνεστηκότων ἡδη Βοιωτῶν τε πάντων καὶ Ἀρκά-

severe losses on them, set up a trophy; nor did he cease until he had induced the Aetorians, Aetolians and Argives to enter into friendship with the Achaeans and alliance with himself

When the enemy sent embassies desiring peace, 21 Agesilaus opposed the peace until he forced Corinth and Thebes to restore to their homes the citizens who had been exiled on account of their sympathy with the Lacedaemonians. And again later, having led an expedition in person against Phleious, he also restored the Phleian exiles who had suffered in the same cause. Possibly some may censure these actions on other grounds, but at least it is obvious that they were prompted by a spirit of true comradeship. It was in the same spirit that he subsequently 22 made an expedition against Thebes, to relieve the Lacedaemonians in that city when their opponents had taken to murdering them. Finding the city protected on all sides by a trench and stockade, he crossed the Pass of Cynoscephalae, and laid waste the country up to the city walls, offering battle to the Thebans both on the plain and on the hills, if they chose to fight. In the following year he made another expedition against Thebes, and, after crossing the stockade and trenches at Scolus, laid waste the rest of Boeotia.

Up to this time he and his city enjoyed unbroken 23 success, and though the following years brought a series of troubles, it cannot be said that they were incurred under the leadership of Agesilaus. On the other hand, after the disaster at Leuctra, when his adversaries in league with the Mantineans were murdering his friends and acquaintances in Tegea, and a coalition of all Boeotia, Arcadia and Elis

XENOPHON

δων καὶ Ἡλείων, στρατεύει σὺν μόνῃ τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων δυνάμει, πολλῶν νομιζόντων οὐδ' ἀνέξελθεῖν Λακεδαιμονίους πολλοῦ χρόνου ἐκ τῆς αὐτῶν. δηγόσας δὲ τὴν χώραν τῶν κατακανόντων τοὺς φίλους οὕτως αὖ οἰκαδε ἀπεχώρησεν.

24 Ἀπό γε μὴν τούτου ἐπὶ τὴν Λακεδαιμονια στρατευσαμένων Ἀρκάδων τε πάντων καὶ Ἀργείων καὶ Ἡλείων καὶ Βοιωτῶν καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Φωκέων καὶ Λοκρῶν ἀμφοτέρων καὶ Θετταλῶν καὶ Αἰνειάνων καὶ Ἀκαρνάνων καὶ Εύβοέων, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀφεστηκότων μὲν τῶν δούλων, πολλῶν δὲ περιοικίδων πόλεων, καὶ αὐτῶν Σπαρτιατῶν οὐ μειόνων ἀπολωλότων ἐν τῇ ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχῃ ἡ λειπομένων, ὅμως διεφύλαξε τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ταῦτα ἀτείχιστον οὖσαν, ὅπου μὲν ἐν παντὶ πλέον ἀνείχον οἱ πολέμιοι, οὐκ ἔξαγων ἐνταῦθα, ὅπου δὲ οἱ πολῖται πλέον ἔξειν ἔμελλον, εὐρώστως παρατεταγμένος, νομίζων εἰς μὲν τὸ πλατύν ἔξιδιν πάντοθεν ἀν περιέχεσθαι, ἐν δὲ τοῖς στενοῖς καὶ ὑπερδεξίοις τόποις ὑπομένων τῷ παντὶ κρατεῖν ἀν-

25 Ἐπεί γε μὴν ἀπεχώρησε τὸ στράτευμα, πῶς οὐκ ἀν φαίη τις αὐτὸν εὐγνωμόνως χρῆσθαι ἔαυτῷ; ως γὰρ τοῦ στρατεύεσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ πεζῇ καὶ ἐφ' ἵππων ἀπειργεν ἥδη τὸ γῆρας, χρημάτων δὲ ἔώρα τὴν πόλιν δεομένην, εἰ μέλλοι σύμμαχόν τινα ἔξειν, ἐπὶ τὸ πορίζειν ταῦτα ἔαυτὸν ἔταξε καὶ ὅσα μὲν ἐδύνατο οἴκοι μέιων ἔμηχανάτο, ἢ δὲ καιρὸς ἦν οὐκ ὥκνει μετιέναι οὐδὲ ἡσχύνετο, εἰ μέλλοι τὴν πόλιν ὠφελήσειν,

had been formed, he took the field with the Lacedaemonian forces only, thus disappointing the general expectation that the Lacedaemonians would not even go outside their own borders for a long time to come. It was not until he had laid waste the country of those who had murdered his friends that he returned home once more.

After this Sparta was attacked by all the Arcadians, Argives, Eleians and Boeotians, who had the support of the Phocians, both the Locrian peoples, the Thessalians, Aenianians, Acarnanians and Euboeans. In addition the slaves and many of the outlander communities were in revolt, and at least as many of the Spartan nobles had fallen in the battle of Leuctra as survived. He kept the city safe notwithstanding, and that though it was without walls, not going out into the open where the advantage would have lain wholly with the enemy, and keeping his army strongly posted where the citizens would have the advantage, for he believed that he would be surrounded on all sides if he came out into the plain, but that if he made a stand in the defiles and the heights, he would be master of the situation.

After the retirement of the enemy, none will deny that his conduct was marked by good sense. The marching and riding incidental to active service were no longer possible to a man of his years, but he saw that the state must have money if she was to gain an ally anywhere. So he applied himself to the business of raising money. At home he did all that ingenuity could suggest, and, if he saw any prospect of serving the state abroad, shrank from no measures that circumstances called for, and he was not ashamed to go out, not as a general, but as an

ΛΕΥΟΦΗΟΝ

- 26 τρεσδεπτής ἐστονει συερος ἀττί σ-ρατηγοῖς δύμας
 δὲ καὶ εἰ -ῆ -ρεσδεία μεγάλη σ-ρατηγοῦ ἔργα
 διετράξατο Λί-οφραδά-ης τε γαρ τολιορκῶν
 εἰ "Ισσρ 'Ιριοθεράπατηρ σίμιαχορ διτα δείσαι
 'Αγησιλεοι θειγα πάχεο Κότις δ' αὐτὸν Σησ-δη-
 τολιορκῶν 'Ιριοθεράπαιον εἴτε οἰσταρ λίσσας καὶ
 οὗτος τίς τολιορεῖαι ἀ-ηλιάγη ὁσ-τούς οὐκ ἀ-
 ἄλλογως καὶ ἀ-ο τῆς -ρεσβείας -ρό-αιον τῶν
 τολεμίων ἐσ-ήκει αὐτῷ Μαίσωλός γε μὴν κατὰ
 θαλαττας ἔκατοι ταῖσι τολιορκῶν ἀμφότερα τὰ
 χωρία ταῦτα οὐκέτι δείσας, ἀντὶ τεισθεὶς ἀ-
 27 -λευσει οἰκαδε καὶ-αῦθα οὐν αἴξια θαύματοι
 διετράξατο οἵ τε γὰρ εὖ -ε-ορθέπιι τομίζοντες
 ὑ- αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ φεύγοντες αὐτὸν χρήματα
 ἀμφότεροι ἔδοσαι Ταχως γε μὴν καὶ Μαυσωλος,
 διὰ τὴν -ρόσθεν 'Αγησιλάου ξενίαι συμβαλο-
 μενος καὶ οὗτος χρήματα τῇ Λακεδαιμονί-
 ἀτέ-εμψαι αὐτὸν οἰκαδε τροπομητὴν δόντες
 μεγαλοτρεπῆ
 28 'Εκ δε τούτου ἡδη μὲν ἔτη ἔγεγόνει ἀμφὶ τὰ
 ὄγδοοήκοιτα κατανευοηκώς δὲ τον Αἰγυπτίων
 βασιλέα ἐπιθυμοῦντα τῷ Πέρση πολεμεῖν καὶ
 πολλους μὲν πεζούς, πολλοὺς ππέας, πολλὰ
 δὲ χρήματα ἔχοντα ἀσμενο
 πέμπετο ὅν, καὶ ταῦτα
 ὅτι μετε
 ὑπισχνού
 τῷ μὲν
 γετηκει
 29 μενος γὰρ τῇ
 Αἰγυ- ἀποδώσειν
 τὴν τοὺς δ' ἐν
 τάλιν τῷ δε Π
 καὶ τῷ αὶ ὅτι
 30 φάσκων σήνην
 ὁ μετα ἀτεδι

envoy. And even as an envoy he accomplished 26 work worthy of a great general. For instance, Autophradates laying siege to Ariobarzanes, an ally of Sparta, at Assos, took to his heels from fear of Agesilaus. Cotys for his part, besieging Sestos, while it was still in the hands of Ariobarzanes, broke up the siege and made off. With good reason, therefore, might the victorious envoy have set up a trophy once again to record these bloodless successes. Again, 27 Mausolus, laying siege to both these places with a fleet of a hundred vessels, was induced, not indeed by fear, but by persuasion, to sail for home. In this affair too his success was admirable; for those who considered that they were under an obligation to him and those who fled before him, both paid. Yet again, Tachos and Mausolus (another of those who contributed money to Sparta, owing to his old ties of hospitality with Agesilaus), sent him home with a magnificent escort.

Subsequently, when he was now about eighty 28 years of age, he became aware that the king of Egypt was bent on war with Persia, and was possessed of large forces of infantry and cavalry and plenty of money. He was delighted when a summons for help reached him from the Egyptian king, who actually promised him the chief command. For he 29 believed that at one stroke he would repay the Egyptian for his good offices to Sparta, would again set free the Greeks in Asia, and would chastise the Persian for his former hostility, and for demanding now, when he professed to be an ally of Sparta, that her claim to Messene should be given up. However, 30 when this suitor for his assistance failed to give him

- 26 πρεσβευτὴς ἐκπορευομένος ἀντὶ στρατηγοῦ. ὅμως δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ πρεσβείᾳ μεγάλου στρατηγοῦ ἔργα διεπράξατο. Αὐτοφραδάτης τε γὰρ πολιορκῶι ἐν Ἀσσῷ Ἀριοβαρζάνην σύμμαχον ὄντα δείσας Ἀγησίλαον φεύγων ὥχετο· Κότυς δ' αὖ Σηστὸν πολιορκῶν Ἀριοβαρζάνου ἔτι οὖσαν λύσας καὶ οὗτος τὴν πολιορκίαν ἀπηλλάγη· ὥστ' οὐκ ἀν ἀλόγως καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πρεσβείας τρόπαιον τῷ πολεμίῳ ἔστήκει αὐτῷ. Μαύσωλός γε μὴν κατὰ θάλατταν ἑκατὸν ναυσὸν πολιορκῶν ἀμφότερα τὰ χωρία ταῦτα οὐκέτι δείσας, ἀλλὰ πεισθεὶς ἀπέ-
- 27 πλευστεν οἴκαδε. κάνταῦθα οὖν ἄξια θαύματος διεπράξατο· οἵ τε γὰρ εὖ πεποιθέντες νομίζοντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ φεύγοντες αὐτὸν χρήματα ἀμφότεροι ἔδοσαν. Ταχώς γε μὴν καὶ Μαύσωλος, διὰ τὴν πρόσθεν Ἀγησίλαον ξενίαν συμβαλόμενος καὶ οὗτος χρήματα τῇ Λακεδαιμονίᾳ ἀπέπεμψαν αὐτὸν οἴκαδε προπομπὴν δόντες μεγαλοπρεπῆ.
- 28 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἡδη μὲν ἔτη ἐγεγόνει ἀμφὶ τὰ ὄγδοήκοντα· κατανευοηκὼς δὲ τὸν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέα ἐπιθυμοῦντα τῷ Πέρσῃ πολεμεῖν καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν πεζούς, πολλοὺς δὲ ἵππεας, πολλὰ δὲ χρήματα ἔχοντα ἀσμενος ἡκουσεν, δτε μετεπέμπετο αὐτόν, καὶ ταῦτα ἡγεμονίαν ὑπισχνούμενος. ἐνόμιζε γὰρ τῇ αὐτῇ ὄρμῇ τῷ μὲν Αἰγυπτίῳ χάριν ἀποδώσειν ἀνθ' ὃν εὑργετήκει τὴν Λακεδαιμονίαν, τοὺς δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Ἑλληνας -ἄλιν ἐλευθερώσειν, τῷ δὲ Πέρσῃ δίκην ἐτιθήσειν καὶ τῶν τρόπσθεν καὶ δτε νῦν σύμμαχος είναι
- 30 φάσκων ἐτέταττε Μεσσήνην ἀφιέναι. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ὁ μετα-εμψύμενος οὐκ ἀ-εξίσου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν

the command Agesilaus felt that he had been grossly deceived, and was in doubt what he ought to do At this juncture first a portion of the Egyptian troops, operating as a separate army, revolted from the king, and then the rest of his forces deserted him The king left Egypt and fled in terror to Sidon in Phoenicia, while the Egyptians split up into two parties, and each chose its own king Agesilaus now realised that if 31 he helped neither king, neither of them would pay the Greeks their wages, neither would provide a market, and the conqueror, whichever he proved to be, would be hostile, but if he co-operated with one of them, that one, being under an obligation to him, would in all probability adopt a friendly attitude Accordingly, having decided which of them showed the stronger signs of being a friend to the Greeks, he took the field with him He inflicted a crushing defeat on the enemy of the Greeks, and helped to establish his rival, and so having made him the friend of Sparta, and having received a great sum of money in addition, he sailed home, though it was mid winter, with all haste, in order that the state might be in a position to take action against her enemies in the coming summer

III Such, then, is the record of my hero's deeds, so far as they were done before a crowd of witnesses Actions like these need no proofs, the mere mention of them is enough and they command belief immediately But now I will attempt to show the virtue that was in his soul, the virtue through which he wrought those deeds and loved all that is honourable and put away all that is base

Agesilaus had such reverence for religion, that 2 even his enemies considered his oaths and his

αὐτῷ, ὁ μὲν Ἀγησίλαος ὡς τὸ μέγιστον ἔξηπατη-
μένος ἐφρόντιζε, τί δεῖ ποιεῖν. ἐκ τούτου δὲ
πρῶτον μὲν οἱ δίχα στρατευόμενοι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων
ἀφίστανται τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι
πάντες ἀπέλιπον αὐτόν. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν δείσας
ἀπεχώρησε φυγῇ εἰς Σιδῶνα τῆς Φοινίκης, οἱ δ'
Αἰγύπτιοι στασιάζοντες διττοὺς βασιλέας αἴρουν-

31 ται. ἐνταῦθα δὴ Ἀγησίλαος γνούς, δτι εἰ μὲν
μηδετέρῳ συλλήψοιτο, μισθὸν οὐδέτερος λύσει
τοῖς "Ελλησιν, ἀγορὰν δὲ οὐδέτερος παρέξει,
όπότερός τ' ἀν κρατήσῃ, οὗτος ἔχθρὸς ἔσται"
εἰ δὲ τῷ ἑτέρῳ συλλήψοιτο, οὗτος γε εὖ παθὼν
ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς φίλος ἔσοιτο, οὕτω δὴ κρίνας, ὀπότερος
φιλέλλην μᾶλλον ἐδόκει εἶναι, στρατευσάμενος
μετὰ τούτου τὸν μὲν μισέλληνα μάχῃ νικήσας
χειροῦται, τὸν δ' ἑτερον συγκαθίστησι καὶ φίλον
ποιήσας τῇ Λακεδαίμονι καὶ χρήμata πολλὰ
προσλαβὼν οὕτως ἀποπλεῖ οἴκαδε καίπερ μέσου
χειμῶνος ὅντος, σπεύδων, ὡς μὴ ἀργὸς ἢ πόλις
εἰς τὸ ἐπιὸν θέρος πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους γένοιτο.

III. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ εἴρηται ὅσα τῶν ἐκείνου
ἔργων μετὰ πλείστων μαρτύρων ἐπράχθη. τὰ
γὰρ τοιαῦτα οὐ τεκμηρίων προσδεῖται, ἀλλ'
ἀναμνῆσαι μόνον ἀρκεῖ καὶ εὐθὺς πιστεύεται.
νῦν δὲ τὴν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτοῦ ἀρετὴν πειράσομαι
δηλοῦντ, δι' ἣν ταῦτα ἐπραττε καὶ πάντων τῶν
καλῶν ἡρα καὶ πάντα τὰ αἰσχρὰ ἔξεδίωκεν.

2 Ἀγησίλαος γὰρ τὰ μὲν θεῖα οὕτως ἐσέβετο,
ὡς καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι τοὺς ἐκείνουν ὄρκους καὶ τὰς

the command Agesilaus felt that he had been grossly deceived, and was in doubt what he ought to do At this juncture first a portion of the Egyptian troops, operating as a separate army, revolted from the king, and then the rest of his forces deserted him The king left Egypt and fled in terror to Sidon in Phoenicia, while the Egyptians split up into two parties, and each chose its own king Agesilaus now realised that if 31 he helped neither king, neither of them would pay the Greeks their wages, neither would provide a market, and the conqueror, whichever he proved to be, would be hostile, but if he co operated with one of them, that one, being under an obligation to him, would in all probability adopt a friendly attitude Accordingly, having decided which of them showed the stronger signs of being a friend to the Greeks, he took the field with him He inflicted a crushing defeat on the enemy of the Greeks, and helped to establish his rival, and so having made him the friend of Sparta, and having received a great sum of money in addition, he sailed home, though it was mid winter, with all haste, in order that the state might be in a position to take action against her enemies in the coming summer

B.C. III Such, then, is the record of my hero's deeds, so far as they were done before a crowd of witnesses Actions like these need no proofs, the mere mention of them is enough and they command belief immediately But now I will attempt to show the virtue that was in his soul, the virtue through which he wrought those deeds and loved all that is honourable and put away all that is base

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31 ται. ἐνταῦθα δὴ Ἀγησίλαος γνούς, δτι εἰ μὲν μηδετέρῳ συλλήψοιτο, μισθὸν οὐδέτερος λύσει τοῖς "Ελλησιν, ἀγορὰν δὲ οὐδέτερος παρέξει, ὅπότερός τ' ἀν κρατήσῃ, οὗτος ἔχθρὸς ἔσται" εἰ δὲ τῷ ἑτέρῳ συλλήψοιτο, οὗτός γε εὖ παθὼν ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς φίλος ἔσοιτο, οὕτω δὴ κρίνας, ὅπότερος φιλέλλην μᾶλλον ἐδόκει εἶναι, στρατευσάμενος μετὰ τούτου τὸν μὲν μισέλληνα μάχῃ νικήσας χειροῦται, τὸν δὲ ἑτερον συγκαθίστησι καὶ φίλον ποιήσας τῇ Λακεδαιμονίῳ καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ προσλαβὼν οὕτως ἀποπλεῖ οἴκαδε καίπερ μέσου χειμῶνος ὄντος, σπεύδων, ὡς μὴ ἀργὸς ίπ πόλις εἰς τὸ ἐπιὸν θέρος πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους γένοιτο.

III. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ εἴρηται ὅσα τῶν ἐκείνου ἔργων μετὰ πλείστων μαρτύρων ἐπράχθη. τὰ γάρ τοιαῦτα οὐ τεκμηρίων προσδεῖται, ἀλλ' ἀγαμηῆσαι μόνον ἀρκεῖ καὶ εὔθὺς πιστεύεται. νῦν δὲ τὴν ἐν τῇ Ψυλῇ αὐτοῦ ἀρετὴν πειράσομαι δηλοῦν. δι' ἣν ταῦτα ἐπράττε καὶ πάντων τῶν καλῶν ἥρα καὶ πάντα τὰ αἰσχρὰ ἐξεδίωκεν.

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3

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έκεινου σπονδᾶς πιστοτέραις ἐνόμιζον ἡ τὴν ἑαυτῶν
φιλίαν· οἱ καὶ πρὸς ἄλληλους ἔστιν ὅτε μὲν ὕκρουν
eis ταῦτὸν ἴέραι, Ἀγησιλάῳ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐγχείριζον.
ὅπως δὲ μή τις ἀπιστῇ, καὶ ὀνομάσαι βούλομαι
3 τοὺς ἐπιφαινεστάτους αὐτῶν. Σπιθριδάτης μέν
γε ὁ Πέρσης εἰδώς, ὅτι Φαρνάβαζος γῆμαι μὲν
τὴν βασιλέως ἐπραττε θυγατέρα, τὴν δ' αὐτοῦ
ἄνευ γάμου λαβεῖν ἐβούλετο, ὥθριν νομίσας
τοῦτο Ἀγησιλάῳ ἑαυτῷ καὶ τὴν γυναικα καὶ
4 τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἐνεχείρισε. Κότυς δὲ
ὁ τῶν Παφλαγόνων ἄρχων βασιλεῖ μὲν οὐχ
ὑπήκουσε δεξιὰν πέμποντι, φοβούμενος, μὴ
ληφθεῖς ἢ χρήματα πολλὰ ἀποτίσειν ἢ καὶ
ἀποθάνοι, Ἀγησιλάου δὲ καὶ οὗτος ταῖς σπονδαῖς
πιστεύσας eis τὸ στρατόπεδόν τε ἤλθε καὶ συμ-
μαχίαν ποιησάμενος εἶλετο σὺν Ἀγησιλάῳ στρα-
τευεσθαι, χιλίους μὲν ἵππέας, δισχιλίους δὲ
5 πελτοφόρους ἔχων. ἀφίκετο δὲ καὶ Φαρνάβαζος
Ἀγησιλάῳ eis λόγους καὶ διωμολόγησεν, εἴ μὴ
αὐτὸς πάσης τῆς στρατιᾶς στρατηγὸς καταστα-
θείη, ἀποστήσεσθαι βασιλέως· ἣν μέντοι ἐγὼ
γένωμαι στρατηγός, ἔφη, πολεμήσω σοι, ὡς
Ἀγησίλαε, ὡς ἂν ἐγὼ δύνωμαι κράτιστα. καὶ
ταῦτα λέγων ἐπίστευε μηδὲν ἂν παράσπονδον
παθεῖν. οὗτοι μέγα καὶ καλὸν κτῆμα τοῖς τε
ἄλλοις ἀπασι καὶ ἀνδρὶ δὴ στρατηγῷ τὸ δσιόν
τε καὶ πιστὸν εἶναί τε καὶ ὄντα ἐγνῶσθαι. καὶ
περὶ μὲν εὐσεβείας ταῦτα.

¹ The text here is quite uncertain; there is a gap in the manuscript after φιλίαν.

treaties more to be relied on than their own friendship with one another: for there were times when they shrank from meeting together,¹ and yet would place themselves in the power of Agesilaus. And lest anyone should think this statement incredible, I wish to name the most famous among them. Spithridates the Persian, for example, knew that Pharnabazus was negotiating for a marriage with the Great King's daughter, and intended to take his, Spithridates', daughter as a concubine. Regarding this as an outrage, he delivered himself, his wife, his children and all that he had into Agesilaus' hands. Cette partie fut dans l'origine de la guerre et fut oblige a se faire obeir 4
He was accompanied by a thousand horse and two thousand targeteers. He feared that he would be seized and either be fined heavily or even put to death; but he too, trusting in the armistice with Agesilaus, came to his camp and having entered into alliance elected to take the field at Agesilaus' side with a thousand horse and two thousand targeteers. And Pharnabazus too came 5 and parleyed with Agesilaus, and made agreement with him that if he were not himself appointed the Persian general, he would revolt from the Great King. "But," he said, "if I become general, I shall make war on you, Agesilaus, with all my might." He used this language in full confidence that nothing contrary to the terms of the armistice would happen to him. So great and so noble a treasure has every man, and above all a general, who is upright and trustworthy and is known to be so. So much, then, for the virtue of Piety.

⁸ The "right hand," often mentioned as a pledge of good faith or friendship.

IV. Περὶ γε μὴν τῆς εἰς χρήματα δικαιοσύνης
 ποῖα ἄν τις μείζω τεκμήρια ἔχοι τῶνδε; ὑπὸ²
 γὰρ Ἀγησίλαου στέρεσθαι μὲν οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν
 πωποτε ἐνεκάλεσεν, εὖ δὲ πεπονθέναι πολλοὶ³
 πολλὰ ώμολόγουν. ὅτῳ δὲ ἥδυ τὰ αὐτοῦ διδόναι
 ἐπ’ ὡφελείᾳ ἀνθρώπων, πῶς ἄν οὗτος ἐθέλοι τὰ
 ἀλλότρια ἀποστερεῖν ἐφ’ ὃ κακόδοξος εἶναι; εἰ
 γὰρ χρημάτων ἐπιθυμοίη, πολὺ ἀπραγμονέστερον
 τὰ αὐτοῦ φυλάττειν ἢ τὰ μὴ προσήκοντα λαμβά-
 νειν. ὃς δὲ δὴ καὶ χάριτας ἀποστερεῖν μὴ ἐθέλοι,
 ὃν οὐκ εἰσὶ δίκαια πρὸς τὸν μὴ ἀποδιδόντα, πῶς
 ἂ γε καὶ νόμος κωλύει ἐθέλοι ἄν ἀποστερεῖν;
 Ἀγησίλαος δὲ οὐ μόνον τὸ μὴ ἀποδιδόναι χάριτας
 ἄδικον ἔκρινεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ μὴ πολὺ μείζους τὸν
 μείζω δυνάμενον. τά γε μὴν τῆς πόλεως κλέπτειν
 πῆ ἄν τις αὐτὸν εἰκότως αἴτιάσαιτο, ὃς καὶ τὰς
 αὐτῷ χάριτας ὄφειλομένας τῇ πατρίδι καρποῦσθαι
 παρεδίδουν; τὸ δὲ ὅπότε βούλοιτο εὖ ποιεῖν ἢ
 πόλιν ἢ φίλους χρήμασι, δύνασθαι παρ’ ἔτέρων
 λαμβάνοντα ώφελεῖν, οὐ καὶ τοῦτο μέγα τεκμή-
 ριον ἐγκρατείας χρημάτων; εἰ γὰρ ἐπώλει τὰς
 χάριτας ἢ μισθοῦ εὐεργέτει, οὐδεὶς ἄν οὐδὲν
 ὄφείλειν αὐτῷ ἐνόμισεν. ἀλλ’ οἱ προΐκα εὖ
 πεπονθότες, οὗτοι ἀεὶ ἥδεως ὑπηρετοῦσι τῷ
 εὐεργέτῃ καὶ διότι εὖ ἔπαθον καὶ διότι προ-
 επιστεύθησαν ἄξιοι εἶναι παρακαταθήκην χάριτος
 φυλάττειν.

5 "Οστις δ' ἤρεντο καὶ σὺν τῷ γενναίῳ μειονεκτεῖν
 ἢ σὺν τῷ ἀδίκῳ πλέον ἔχειν, πῶς οὗτος οὐκ ἄν

¹ *Symposium*, viii. 30.

IV. Next comes his Justice in money matters Of this what proofs can be more convincing than the following? No man ever made any complaint that he had been defrauded by Agesilaus but many acknowledged that they had received many benefits from him One who delighted to give away his own for the good of others could not possibly be minded to defraud others at the price of disgrace For if he had coveted money it would have cost him far less trouble to keep his own than to take what did not belong to him A man who would not leave unpaid debts of gratitude, which are not recoverable in the courts, cannot have been minded to commit thefts that are forbidden by law And Agesilaus held it wrong not only to repudiate a debt of gratitude, but, having greater means, not to render in return a much greater kindness Again, with what show of reason could embezzlement of public property be charged against a man who bestowed on his fatherland the rewards due to himself? And is it not a striking proof of his freedom from avarice that he was able to get money from others, whenever he wanted, for the purpose of rendering financial assistance to the state or his friends? For had he been in the habit of selling his favours or taking payment for his benefactions, no one would have felt that he owed him anything It is the recipient of unbought, gratuitous benefits who is always glad to oblige his benefactor in return for the kindness he has received and in acknowledgment of the trust reposed in him as a worthy and faithful guardian of a favour¹

Further, is it not certain that the man who by a noble instinct refused to take more and preferred to take less than his just share was far beyond the reach

πολυ τὴν αἰσχροκέρδειαν ἀποφεύγοι; ἐκεῖος
τοίνυν κριθεὶς υπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀπαντα ἔχειν τὰ
“Ἄγιδος τὰ ίμισεα τοῖς ἀπὸ μητρὸς αὐτῷ ὁμογό-
νοις μετέδωκεν, ὅτι πειρομένους αὐτοὺς ἔωρα. ὡς
δὲ ταῦτα ἀληθῆ, πᾶσα μάρτυς ἡ τῶν Λακεδαι-
μονίων πόλις. διδόγτος δ' αὐτῷ πάμπολλα δῶρα
Τιθραύστου, εἰ ἀπέλθοι ἐκ τῆς χώρας, ἀπεκρίνατο
ὁ ‘Αγησίλαος’ “Ω Τιθραύστα, νομίζεται παρ'
ιμīν τῷ ἄρχοντι κάλλιον εἶναι τὴν στρατιὰν ἡ
έαυτὸν πλουτίζειν καὶ παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων λάφυρα
μᾶλλον πειρᾶσθαι ἡ δῶρα λαμβάνειν.

V. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ὅσαι γε ἥδοναὶ πολλῶν
κρατοῦσιν ἀνθρώπων, ποίας οὐδέ τις Ἀγησίλαον
ἥττηθέντα; δις μέθης μὲν ἀποσχέσθαι ὁμοίως
ῳετο χρῆναι καὶ μανίας, σίτων δ' ὑπὲρ καιρὸν
ὁμοίως καὶ ἀργίας. διμοιρίαν γε μὴν λαμβάνων
ἐν ταῖς θολναις οὐχ ὅπως ἀμφοτέραις ἔχρῆτο,
ἀλλὰ διαπέμπων οὐδετέραν αὐτῷ κατέλειπε,
νομίζων βασιλεῖ τοῦτο διπλασιασθῆναι οὐχ
πλησμονῆς ἔνεκα, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἔχοι καὶ τούτῳ
2 τιμᾶν εἴ τινα βούλοιτο. οὐ μὴν ὅπνῳ γε δεσπότῃ,
ἀλλ' ἄρχομένῳ ὑπὸ τῶν πράξεων ἔχρῆτο καὶ
εὖνήν γε εἰ μὴ τῶν συνόντων φαυλοτάτην ἔχοι,
αἰδούμενος οὐκ ἄδηλος ἦν· ἥγεῖτο γάρ ἄρχοντε
προσήκειν οὐ μαλακίᾳ, ἀλλὰ καρτερίᾳ τῶν ἴδιω-
τῶν περιεῖναι.

3 Τάδε μέντοι πλεονεκτῶν οὐκ ἥσχύνετο, ἐν μὲν
τῷ θέρει τοῦ ἡλίου, ἐν δὲ τῷ χειμῶνι τοῦ ψύχους.
καὶ μὴν εἴ ποτε μοχθῆσαι στρατιᾷ συμβαίη,

¹ μανίας and ἀργίας are adopted from the text of Athenaeus,
who refers to this passage (p. 613 c). The MSS. of the

of covetousness? Now when the state pronounced him sole heir to the property of Agis, he gave half of it to his mother's kinsfolk, because he saw that they were in want, and all Lacedaemon bears witness that my statement is true. On receiving from 6 Tithraustes an offer of gifts unnumbered if only he would leave his country, Agesilaus answered "Among us, Tithraustes, a ruler's honour requires him to enrich his army rather than himself, and to take spoils rather than gifts from the enemy."

V Αγεσίλαος οὐτε πάντα τὰ δώρα τοῦ θεοῦ απέλαβεν

be avoided like madness, overeating like idleness.¹ Moreover, he received a double ration at the public meals, but instead of consuming both portions himself, he distributed both and left neither for himself, holding that the purpose of this double allowance to the king was not to provide him with a heavy meal, but to give him the opportunity of honouring whomsoever he would. As for sleep,² it was not his master,³ but the servant of his activities, and unless he occupied the humblest bed among his comrades, he could not conceal his shame for he thought that a ruler's superiority over ordinary men should be shown not by weakness but by endurance.

There were things, to be sure, of which he was not ashamed to take more than his share—for instance, the summer's heat and the winter's cold⁴ and whenever his army was faced with a hard task,

Agesilaus have λαχανύτης, "gluttony," and ἀμετίας, "error."

¹ *Ia. Pol.*, xv 4, *Cyropaedia*, VIII. ii. 4.

² *Cyropaedia*, I. iv. 25.

έκων ἐπόνει παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους, νομίζων πάντα
τὰ τοιαῦτα παραμυθίαν εἶναι τοῖς στρατιώταις.
ώς δὲ συνελόντι εἰπεῖν, Ἀγησίλαος πονῶν μὲν
ἥγαλλετο, ῥαστώνην δὲ πάμπαν οὐ προσίετο.

4 Περὶ γε μὴν ἀφροδισίων ἐγκρατείας αὐτοῦ ἅρ'
οὐχὶ εἰ μή του ἄλλου ἀλλὰ θαύματος ἔνεκα
ἄξιον μνησθῆναι; τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὃν μὴ ἐπεθύμησεν
ἀπέχεσθαι ἀνθρώπινον ἄν τις φαίη εἶναι· τὸ δὲ
Μεγαβάτου τοῦ Σπιθριδάτου παιδὸς ἐρασθέντα,
ῶσπερ ἄν τοῦ καλλίστου ἡ σφοδροτάτη φύσις
ἐρασθείη, ἐπειτα ἡνίκα, ἐπιχωρίου δύτος τοῖς
Πέρσαις φιλεῖν οὖς ἄν τιμῶσιν, ἐπεχείρησε καὶ
ὁ Μεγαβάτης φιλῆσαι τὸν Ἀγησίλαον, διαμά-
χεσθαι ἀνὰ κράτος τὸ μὴ φιληθῆναι, ἅρ' οὐ
τοῦτο γε ἥδη τὸ σωφρόνημα καὶ λίαν γεννικόν;

5 ἐπεὶ δὲ ὕσπερ ἀτιμασθῆναι νομίσας ὁ Μεγαβάτης
τοῦ λοιποῦ οὐκέτι φιλεῖν ἐπειράτο, προσφέρει
τινὶ λόγον τῶν ἑταίρων ὁ Ἀγησίλαος πείθειν
τὸν Μεγαβάτην πάλιν τιμᾶν ἑαυτόν. ἐρομένου
δὲ τοῦ ἑταίρου, ἦν πεισθῆ ὁ Μεγαβάτης, εἰ
φιλήσει, ἐνταῦθα διασιωπήσας ὁ Ἀγησίλαος
εἰπεῖν· Οὐ τῷ σιώ, οὐδὲ εἰ μέλλοιμί γε αὐτίκα
μάλα κάλλιστός τε καὶ ἴσχυρότατος καὶ τάχιστος
ἀνθρώπων ἔσεσθαι· μάχεσθαι γε μέντοι πάλιν
τὴν αὐτὴν μάχην δύμνυμι πάντας θεοὺς ἢ μὴν
μᾶλλον βούλεσθαι ἢ πάντα μοι ὅσα ὅρῳ χρυσᾶ
6 γενέσθαι. καὶ ὅ τι μὲν δὴ ὑπολαμβάνουσι τινες
ταῦτα, οὐκ ἀγνοῶ· ἐγὼ μέντοι δοκῶ εἰδέναι, ὅτι
πολὺ πλέονες τῶν πολεμίων ἢ τῶν τοιούτων
δύνανται κρατεῖν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὀλίγων
εἰδότων πολλοῖς ἔξεστιν ἀπιστεῖν· τὰ δὲ πάντες
ἐπιστάμεθα, ὅτι ἵκιστα μὲν οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι
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he toiled willingly beyond all others, believing that all such actions were an encouragement to the men. Not to labour the point, Agesilaus gloried in hard work, and showed a strong distaste for indolence.

His habitual control of his affections surely deserves 4 a tribute of admiration, if worthy of mention on no other ground. That he should keep at arms' length those whose intimacy he did not desire may be thought only human. But he loved Megabates, the handsome son of Spithridates, with all the intensity of an ardent nature. Now it is the custom¹ among the Persians to bestow a kiss on those whom they honour. Yet when Megabates attempted to kiss him, Agesilaus resisted his advances with all his might—an act of punctilious moderation surely!
 Megabates, feeling himself slighted, tried no more 5 to kiss him, and Agesilaus approached one of his companions with a request that he would persuade Megabates to show him honour once again. "Will you kiss him," asked his companion, "if Megabates yields?" After a deep silence, Agesilaus gave his reply. "By the twin gods, no, not if I were straightway to be the fairest and strongest and fleetest man on earth!
 By all the gods I swear that I would rather fight that same battle over again than that everything I see should turn into gold"
 What 6 opinion some hold in regard to these matters I know well enough, but for my part I am persuaded that many more men can gain the mastery over their enemies than over impulses such as these.² No doubt when these things are known to few, many have a right to be sceptical: but we all know this, that the

¹ *Cyropaedia*, I. iv. 27.

² *Anabasis*, II. vi. 28.

τῶν ἀνθρώπων λαούσαντος ὁ τι ἄγριον ποιῶσιν.
 Ἀγησίλαιος δέ τι πράξαντα μὲν τοιοῦτον οὔτε
 ἴδων πάποτε οὐδεὶς ἀνήγγειλεν οὔτε εἰκάζων
 1 πιστὰ ἀν ἔδοξε λέγειν. καὶ γὰρ εἰς οἰκίαν μὲν
 οὐδεμίαν ἴδια ἐν ἀποδημίᾳ κατίγετο, ἀτέλος δέ τοι
 ἡ ἐν Ἱερῷ, ἐνθα δὴ ἀδύτατον τὰ τοιαῦτα πράττειν,
 ἡ ἐν φανερῷ, μάρτυρας τοὺς πάντων ὁφθαλμοῖς
 τῆς σωφροσύνης ποιούμενος. εἰ δ' ἐγὼ ταῦτα
 ψεύδομαι ἀντία τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπισταμένης, ἐκεῖνοι
 μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπαινῶ, ἐμαυτὸν δὲ ψέγω.

VI. Ἄνδρεις γε μὴν οὐκ ἀφανῆ τεκμήριά μοι
 δοκεῖ παρασχέσθαι ὑφιστάμενος μὲν ὁντερεῖν
 πρὸς τοὺς ἰσχυροτάτους τῶν ἔχθρῶν τῇ τε πόλει
 καὶ τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρὸς τούτους ἀγώσι
 2 πρῶτον ἐαυτὸν τάττων. ἐνθα γε μὴν ἡθελησαν
 αὐτῷ οἱ πολέμιοι μάχην συνάψαι, οὐ φόβῳ
 τρεψάμενος νίκης ἔτυχεν, ἀλλὰ μάχῃ ἀντιτύπῳ
 κρατήσας τρόπαιον ἐστήσατο, ἀθάνατα μὲν τῆς
 ἐαυτοῦ ἀρετῆς μνημεῖα καταλιπών, σαφῆ δὲ καὶ
 αὐτὸς σημεῖα ἀπενεγκάμενος τοῦ θυμῷ μάχεσθαι
 ὥστ' οὐκ ἀκούοντας, ἀλλ' ὅρῶντας ἐξῆν αὐτοῦ
 3 τὴν ψυχὴν δοκιμάζειν. τρόπαια μὴν Ἀγησίλαιον
 οὐχ ὅσα ἐστήσατο, ἀλλ' ὅσα ἐστρατεύσατὸ δί-
 καιον νομίζειν. μεῖνον μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐκράτει, ὅτε
 οὐκ ἡθελον αὐτῷ οἱ πολέμιοι μάχεσθαι, ἀκινδυ-
 νάτερον δὲ καὶ συμφορώτερον τῇ τε πόλει καὶ
 τοῖς συμμάχοις· καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀγώσι δὲ οὐδὲν
 ἡττον τοὺς ἀκονιτὸν ἡ τοὺς διὰ μάχης νικῶντας
 στεφανοῦσι.

¹ Memorabilia, I. i. II.

² The reference is not general, but definitely to the battle
 of Coronea; see c. II, § 11-13.

greater a man's fame, the fiercer is the light that beats on all his actions,¹ we know too that no one ever reported that he had seen Agesilaus do any such thing, and that no scandal based on conjecture would have gained credence, for it was not his habit, when abroad, to lodge apart in a private house, but he was always either in a temple, where conduct of this sort is, of course, impossible, or else in a public place where all men's eyes became witnesses of his rectitude. If I speak this falsely against the knowledge of the Greek world, I am in no way praising my hero, but I am censuring myself.

VI As for Courage, he seems to me to have afforded clear proofs of that by always engaging himself to fight against the strongest enemies of his state and of Greece, and by always placing himself in the forefront of the struggle. When the enemy were willing to join battle with him,² it was not by their panic flight that he won victory, but it was after overcoming them in stubborn fighting that he set up a trophy, leaving behind him imperishable memorials of his own valour, and bearing in his own body visible tokens of the fury of his fighting, so that not by hearsay but by the evidence of their own eyes men could judge what manner of man he was. In truth the trophies of Agesilaus are not to be counted by telling how many he set up, the number of his campaigns is the number of them. His mastery was in no way less complete when the enemy were unwilling to accept battle, but it was gained at less risk and with more profit to the state and to the allies. So in the Great Games the unchallenged champion is crowned no less than he who has sought to conquer.

4 Τίς γε μὴν σοθίαρ αἵτοῦ τοῖσι τῶν δεξιῶν
 πρίξεντοι εἰς ἐπίστρεψιόν την; οὐ τοῦ μὲν πατρίδης
 οὔτε εὐρύτο, ὥστε μάλιστα πειθόμενος¹ ἐταί
 γοις ἐδεσμός ἦν ἀρρεναπόστοις τοῖς φίλοις
 ἔκεκητο· τοῖς δέ γε στρατιώτας ἀμα τείχο
 μήτοις καὶ φίλοιστας αἰνὸν παρεῖχε καί τοι
 ὡς ἀντίστροφα γένοιτο φάλαγξ ἢ διὰ τὸ
 μὲν πειθόσθαι εὑπεκτοι, οἵσα, ἵνα δε τὸ φίλον
 5 τὸι ἄρχοιτα πιστῶς παροῦσα; τοῖς γε μὴν
 πολεμίοις εἶχε ψέγειν μὲν οὐ δυναμένους, μισεῖν
 δὲ ἀιαγκαζομένους. τοῖς γάρ συμμάχοις ἀεὶ²
 λέοντι ἔχει αὐτῷ ἐμηχανᾶτο, ἔξαπατῶν μὲν
 ὅτους καιρὸς εἶη, φθάνων δὲ ὅτους τάχους δέοι,
 ληθῶν δὲ ὅτους τοῦτο συμφέροι, τάντα δὲ τά-
 ταντία πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἢ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους
 6 ἐπιτηδεύων, καὶ γάρ νυκτὶ μὲν ὅσαπερ ἡμέρᾳ
 ἔχριτο, ἡμέρᾳ δὲ ὅσαπερ νυκτί, πολλάκις ἀδηλος
 γιγνόμενος δότου τε εἶη καὶ δότοι οἱοι καὶ ὁ τοι
 ποιήσοι. ὥστε καὶ τὰ ἔχυρα ἀνώχυρα τοῖς
 ἔχθροῖς καθίστη, τὰ μὲν παριών, τὰ δὲ ὑπερ-
 7 βαίνων, τὰ δὲ κλέψτων. ὅπότε γε μὴν πορεύοιτο
 εἰδώς, ὅτι ἔξεινη τοῖς πολεμίοις μάχεσθαι, εἰ
 βούλοιντο, συντεταγμένον μὲν οὕτως ἵγε το
 στράτευμα, ὡς ἀν ἐτικουρεῖν μάλιστα ἔαυτῷ
 δύναιτο, ἱσύχως δ', ὥστερ ἀν παρθένος ἢ σωφρο-
 νεστάτη τροβαίνοι, νομίζων ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ τό τε
 ἀτρεμὲς καὶ ἀνεκτληκτότατον καὶ ἀθορυβητότατον
 εἶναι.

¹ Something is wanting here—many supply τοχες πλεῖστοι from Plutarch, *Ages* c. 4—φησίν δὲ Εἰ διὰ τάντα τῇ πατρίδῃ πειθόμενος τοχες πλεῖστοι

Of his Wisdom I find the evidence in every 4 one of his deeds Towards his fatherland he behaved in such a manner that, being entirely obedient to her, he won the obedience of the citizens, and by his zeal for his comrades he held the unquestioning devotion of his friends and as for his troops, he gained at once their obedience and their affection Surely nothing is wanting to the strength of that battle line in which obedience results in perfect discipline, and affection for the general produces faithful promptitude As for the 5 enemy, though they were forced to hate, he gave them no chance to despise him For he contrived that his allies always had the better of them, by the use of deception when occasion offered, by anticipating their action if speed was necessary, by hiding when it suited his purpose, and by practising all the opposite methods when dealing with enemies to those which he applied when dealing with friends Night, for example, was to him as day, and 6 day as night,¹ for he often veiled his movements so completely that none could guess where he was, whether he was going, or what he meant to do Thus he made even strong positions untenable to the enemy, turning one, sealing another, snatching a third by stealth On the march, whenever he knew 7 that the enemy could bring him to an engagement if they chose, he would lead his army in close order, alert and ready to defend himself, moving on as quietly as a modest maiden, since he held that this was the best means of maintaining calm, of avoiding panic, confusion, and blundering, and of guarding against a surprise attack.

¹ *Hellenica*, VI i. 15, *Lac Pol.*, v 7, *Cyrus*, ad L. v 12.

8 Τοιγαροῦν τοιαῦτα ποιῶν τοῖς μὲν πολεμοῖς
δεινὸς ἴν, τοῖς δὲ φίλοις θάρρος καὶ ρώμην
ἐνεποίει. ὥστε ἀκαταφρόνητος μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν
ἔχθρῶν διετέλεσεν, ἀξήμιος δ' ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν,
ἀμεμπτος δ' ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων, πολυεραστότατος δὲ
καὶ πολυεπαινετώτατος ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων.

VII. "Ως γε μὴν φιλόπολις ἦν, καθ' ἐν μὲν
ἔκαστον μακρὸν ἀν εἴη γράφειν· οἰοματ γὰρ
οὐδὲν εἶναι τῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτῷ, δι τούκ εἰς
τοῦτο συντείνει. ὡς δ' ἐν βραχεῖ εἰπεῖν, ἀπαντει
ἐπιστάμεθα, δι τούτου Ἀγησίλαος ὅπου ωέτο τὴν πα-
τρίδα τι ὠφελήσειν, οὐ πόνων ὑφίετο, οὐ κινδύνων
ἀφίστατο, οὐ χρημάτων ἐφείδετο, οὐ σῶμα, οὐ
γῆρας προύφασίζετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλέως ἀγαθοῦ
τοῦτο ἔργον ἐνόμιζε, τὸ τοὺς ἀρχομένους ὡς
2 πλεῖστα ἀγαθὰ ποιεῖν. ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις δὲ
ὠφελήμασι τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τόδε ἐγὼ τίθημι
αὐτοῦ, δι τούτου δυνατώτατος ὅν ἐν τῇ πόλει φανερὸς
ἦν μάλιστα τοῖς νόμοις λατρεύων. τίς γὰρ ἀν
ἡθέλησεν ἀπειθεῖν ὅρῶν τὸν βασιλέα πειθόμενον;
τίς δ' ἀν ἡγούμενος μειονεκτεῖν νεώτερόν τι
ἐπεχείρησε ποιεῖν εἰδὼς τὸν βασιλέα νομίμως
3 καὶ τὸ κρατεῖσθαι φέροντα; δις καὶ πρὸς τοὺς
διαφόρους ἐν τῇ πόλει ὥσπερ πατὴρ πρὸς παῖδας
προσεφέρετο. ἐλοιδορεῖτο μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς
ἀμαρτήμασιν, ἐτίμα δ' εἴ τι καλὸν πράττοιεν,
παρίστατο δ' εἴ τις ^{...} ἀνθροὸν
μὲν οὐδένα ἡγούμενος
ἐθέλων, σώζεσθαι δι
ξημίαν δὲ τιθείσ, εἰ κα
εἰ δ' ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ἡρεμοῦντες διαμένοιεν, δηλος

And so, by using such methods, he was formidable 8 to his enemies, and inspired his friends with strength and confidence. Thus he was never despised by his foes, never brought to account by the citizens, never blamed by his friends, but throughout his career he was praised and idolised by all the world.

VII Of his Patriotism it would be a long task to write in complete detail, for there is no single action of his, I think, that does not illustrate that quality. To speak briefly, we all know that when Agesilaus thought he would be serving his fatherland he never shirked toil, never shrank from danger, never spared money, never excused himself on the score of bodily weakness or old age;¹ but believed that it is the duty of a good king to do as much good as possible to his subjects. Among the greatest services he 2 rendered to his fatherland I reckon the fact that, though the most powerful man in the state, he was clearly a devoted servant of the laws. For who would be minded to disobey when he saw the king obeying? Who would turn revolutionist, thinking himself defrauded of his due, when he knew that the king was ready to yield in accordance with the laws? Here was a man whose behaviour to his 3 political opponents was that of a father to his children. though he would chide them for their errors he honoured them when they did a good deed, and stood by them when any disaster befell them, deeming no citizen an enemy, willing to praise all, counting the safety of all a gain, and reckoning the destruction even of a man of little worth as a loss. He clearly reckoned that if the citizens should continue to live in peaceful sub-

¹ *Menippus*, III. ii

ἢ εἰδαίμοια μὲν ἄει ἔσεσθαι την πατριδα
λογιζόμειος, ἵσχυρὰν δὲ τό·ε, ὅταν οἱ "Ελληνες
σωφροιῶσι.

- 4 Λί γε μὴν αὖ καλὸν "Ελληνα δι-α φιλέλληται
εἴαι, τία τις οἶδει ἄλλον στρατηγὸν ἢ -όλιν
οὐκ ἐθέλοιται αἴρειν, δ-αν οἴηται πορθήσειν, ἢ
συμφορὰν νομίζουν-α -όντικάν ἐν τῷ προς" Λληνας
τολέμηρ, ἐκεῖνος τοῖνυν, ἀγγελίας μὲν ἐλθοισης
αὐτῷ, ὡς ἐι -ῆ ἐν Κορίνθῳ μάχῃ ὀκτώ μὲν
Λακεδαιμοίων, ἐγγὺς δε μύριοι τῶν ἀντιτάλων
τεθναῖεν, οὐκ ἐφησθεὶς φαιερὸς ἐγένετο, ἀλλ'
εἰτεν ἄρα. Φεῦ σου,¹ ὡς 'Ελλάς, ὅτότε οἱ νῦν
τεθιηκότες ίκαιοι ήσαν ζῶντες νικάν μαχόμειοι
5 πάντας τοὺς βαρβάρους Κορινθίων γε μὴν τῶν
φευγόντων λεγόντωι, ὅτι εἰ δίδοιτο αὐτοῖς ἡ τόλις,
καὶ μηχανὰς ἐπιδεικιώντων, αἰς πάντως ἥλτιζον
ἄν² ἐλεῖν τὰ τείχη, οὐκ ἥθελε προσβάλλειν,
λέγων, δτι οὐκ ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι δέοι 'Ελληνίδας
πόλεις, ἀλλὰ σωφρονίζειν εἰ δὲ τοὺς ἀμαρτά-
νοντας, ἐφη, ήμων αὐτῶν ἀφανιοῦμεν, ὄραν χρη, μὴ
οὐδ' ἔξομεν μεθ' ὅτου τῶν βαρβαρων κρατησομεν
7 Εἰ δ' αὖ καλὸν καὶ μισοπέρσην είναι, ὅτι καὶ
ὁ πάλαι εἵεστρατευσεν ως δουλωσόμενος την
'Ελλάδα καὶ ὁ νῦν συμμαχεῖ μεν τούτοις, μεθ
ὅποτέρων ἄν οἴηται μείζω βλαψειν, δωρεῖται δ'
ἐκείνοις, οὓς ἄν νομίζη λαβόντας πλεῖστα κακὰ
τοὺς "Ελληνας ποιήσειν, εἰρήνην δὲ συμπράττει,
ἔξ ης ἄν ἥγηται μάλιστα ημᾶς ἀλλήλοις πολε
μήσειν ὄρωσι μὲν οὖν ἄπαντες ταῦτα ἐπεμεληθη
δέ τις ἄλλως πώποτε πλην 'Αγησίλαος, ἢ ὅπως

¹ σου is added from Priscian 2 p 188 it is not in S's text.

mission to the laws, the fatherland would always prosper and that she would be strong when the Greeks were prudent

Again, if it is honourable in one who is a Greek 4 to be a friend to the Greeks, what other general has the world seen unwilling to take a city when he thought that it would be sicked, or who looked on victory in a war against Greeks as a disaster? Now 5 when a report reached Agesilaus that eight Lace daemonians and near ten thousand of the enemy had fallen at the battle of Corinth, instead of showing pleasure, he actually exclaimed "Alas for thee, Hellas! those who now lie dead were enough to defeat all the barbarians in battle had they lived!" And when the Corinthian exiles told him that the 6 city was about to be surrendered to them and pointed to the engines with which they were confident of taking the walls, he would not make an assault, declaring that Greek cities ought not to be enslaved, but chastened "And if," he added, "we are going to annihilate the erring members of our own race, let us beware lest we lack men to help in the conquest of the barbarians"

Or again, if it is honourable to hate the Persian 7 because in old days he set out to enslave Greece, and now allies himself with that side which offers him the prospect of working the greater mischief, makes gifts to those who, as he believes, will injure the Greeks most in return, negotiates the peace that he thinks most certain to produce war among us—well, everyone can see these things, but who except Agesilaus has ever striven either to bring about

* It is added by Richards it is not in S's text

φῦλόν τι ἀποστήσεται τοῦ Πέρσου ἡ ὅπως τὸ
ἀποστάν μὴ ἀπόληται ἡ τὸ παράπαν ὡς καὶ
βασιλεὺς κακὰ ἔχων μὴ δυνήσεται τοῖς Ἑλλησι
πράγματα παρέχειν; ὃς καὶ πολεμούσης τῆς
πατρίδος πρὸς Ἑλληνας ὅμως τοῦ κοινοῦ ἀγαθοῦ
τῇ Ἑλλάδι οὐκ ἡμέλησεν, ἀλλ' ἐξέπλευσεν ὃ τι
δύναιτο κακὸν ποιήσων τὸν βάρβαρον.

VIII. Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἄξιόν γε αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ εὐχαρι-
μὴ σιωπᾶσθαι· ὡς γε ὑπαρχούσης μὲν τιμῆς, πα-
ρούσης δὲ δυνάμεως, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις βασιλείας,
καὶ ταύτης οὐκ ἐπιβουλευομένης ἀλλ' ἀγαπω-
μένης, τὸ μὲν μεγάλαυχον οὐκ ἀν εἰδέ τις, τί
δὲ φιλόστορογον καὶ θεραπευτικὸν τῶν φίλων κα-
2 μὴ ζητῶν κατενόησεν ἄν. καὶ μὴν μετεῖχε μὲν
ἡδιστα παιδικῶν λόγων, συνεσπούδαξε δὲ πάν
ὅ τι δέοι φίλοις. διὰ δὲ τὸ εὔελπις καὶ εὐθυμος
καὶ ἀεὶ ἵλαρὸς εἶναι πολλοὺς ἐποίει μὴ τοῦ
διαπράξασθαι τι μόνον ἔνεκα πλησιάζειν, ἀλλὰ
καὶ τοῦ ἡδιον διημερεύειν. ἥκιστα δ' ὁν οίος
μεγαληγορεῖν ὅμως τῶν ἐπαινούντων αὐτοὺς οὐ
βαρέως ἥκουεν, ἥγούμενος βλάπτειν οὐδὲν αὐτούς,
3 ὑπισχνεῖσθαι δὲ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς ἔσεσθαι. ἀλλὰ
μὴν καὶ τῇ μεγαλογνωμοσύνῃ γε ὡς εὐκαίρως
ἔχρητο, οὐ παραλειπτέον. ἐκεῖνος γάρ, ὅτ' ἥλθεν
αὐτῷ ἐπιστολὴ παρὰ βασιλέως, ἦν ὁ μετὰ Καλλέα
τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου Πέρσης ἥνεγκε, περὶ ξενίας τε
καὶ φιλίας αὐτοῦ, ταύτην μὲν οὐκ ἐδέξατο, τῷ δὲ
φέροντι εἰπεν ἀπαγγεῖλαι βασιλεῖ, ὡς ἴδιᾳ μὲν
πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐδὲν δέοις ἐπιστολὰς πέμπειν, ἦν δὲ

the revolt of a tribe from the Persian, or to save a revolting tribe from destruction, or by some means or other to involve the Great King in trouble so that he will be unable to annoy the Greeks? Nay, when his fatherland was actually at war with Greeks, he did not neglect the common good of Greece, but went out with a fleet to do what harm he could to the barbarian.

VIII Another quality that should not go unrecorded is his urbanity. For although he held honour in fee, and had power at his beck, and to these added sovereignty—sovereignty not plotted against but regarded with affection—yet no traces of arrogance could have been detected in him, where're signs of a fatherly affection and readiness to serve his friends, even if unsought, were evident. He delighted, moreover, to take his part in light talk, yet he showed an eager sympathy with friends in all their serious concerns. Thanks to his optimism, good humour, and cheerfulness he was a centre of attraction to many, who came not merely for purposes of business, but to pass the day more pleasantly. Little inclined to boastfulness himself, he heard without annoyance the self praise of others, thinking that, by indulging in it, they did no harm and gave earnest of high endeavour. On the other hand, one must not omit a reference to the dignity that he showed on appropriate occasions. Thus, when the Persian envoy who came with Calleas, the Lacedaemonian, handed him a letter from the Great King containing offers of friendship and hospitality, he declined to accept it. "Tell his Majesty," he said to the bearer, "that there is no need for him to send me private letters, but, if he

- φίλος τῆς Λακεδαιμονίου καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος εὗνος ὁν
φαίνηται, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς φίλος ἀνὰ κράτος αὐτῷ
ἔσοιτο· ἦν μέντοι, ἔφη, ἐπιβούλεύων ἀλίσκηται,
μηδὲ ἀν πάνυ πολλὰς ἐπιστολὰς δέχωμαι, φίλον
 4 ἔξειν με οἰέσθω. ἐγὼ οὖν καὶ τοῦτο ἐπαινῶ
Ἄγησιλάου, τὸ πρὸς τὸ ἀρέσκειν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν
ὑπεριδεῖν τὴν βασιλέως ξενίαν. ἄγαμαι δὲ κά-
κεῖνο, ὅτι οὐχ ὀπότερος πλείω τε χρήματα ἔχοι
καὶ πλειόνων ἄρχοι, τούτῳ ἡγήσατο μεῖζον
φρονητέον εἶναι, ἀλλ' ὀπότερος αὐτός τε ἀμείνων
εἴη καὶ ἀμεινόνων ἥγοιτο.
- 5 Ἐπαινῶ δὲ κάκεῖνο τῆς προνοίας αὐτοῦ, ὅτι
νομίζων ἀγαθὸν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀφίστασθαι τοῦ
βασιλέως ὡς πλείστους σατράπας οὐκ ἐκρατήθη
οὔθ' ὑπὸ δώρων οὔθ' ὑπὸ τῆς βασιλέως ρώμης
ἐθελῆσαι ξενωθῆναι αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' ἐφυλάξατο μὴ
ἀπιστος γενέσθαι τοῖς ἀφίστασθαι βουλομένοις.
- 6 Ἐκεῖνό γε μὴν αὐτοῦ τίς οὐκ ἀν ἀγασθείη;
οἱ μὲν γὰρ Πέρσης νομίζων, ἦν χρήματα πλείστα
ἔχη, πάνθ' ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ποιήσεσθαι, διὰ τοῦτο πᾶν
μὲν τὸ ἐν ἀνθρώποις χρυσίον, πᾶν δὲ τὸ ἀργύριον,
πάντα δὲ τὰ πολυτελέστατα ἐπειράτο πρὸς
ἑαυτὸν ἀθροίζειν. οἱ δὲ οὕτως ἀντεσκευάσατο
τὸν οἶκον, ὥστε τούτων μηδενὸς προσδεῖσθαι.
- 7 εἰ δέ τις ταῦτα ἀπιστεῖ, ἴδετω μέν, οἷα οἰκία
ἥρκει αὐτῷ, θεασάσθω δὲ τὰς θύρας αὐτοῦ.
εἰκάσειε γὰρ ἂν τις ἔτι ταῦτας ἐκείνας εἴναι,
ἄσπερ Ἀριστόδημος ὁ Ἡρακλέους, ὃτε κατῆλθε,

¹ Aristodemus was great grandson of Hyllus, son of Heracles. Xenophon follows the Lacedaemonian account, according to which Aristodemus himself was leader at the time when the Lacedaemonians obtained Sparta (Herodotus,

gives proof of friendship for Lacedaemon, and good will towards Greece, I on my part will be his friend with all my heart. But if he is found plotting against them, let him not hope to have a friend in me, however many letters I may receive" In this 4 contempt for the king's hospitality, as nothing in comparison with the approval of the Greeks, I find one more reason for praising Agesilaus Admirable too was his opinion that it is not for the ruler with the deeper coffers and the longer roll of subjects to set himself above his rival, but for him who is the better leader of the better people

Again, an instance of his foresight that I find 5 worthy of praise is this believing it to be good for Greece that as many satraps as possible should revolt from the king, he was not prevailed on either by gifts or by the king's power to accept his hospitality, but was careful not to give cause to those who wanted to revolt for mistrusting him

There is yet another side of his character that 6 everyone must admire It was the belief of the Persian king that by possessing himself of colossal wealth, he would put all things in subjection to himself In this belief he tried to engross all the gold, all the silver and all the most costly things in the world Agesilaus, on the contrary, adopted such a simple style in his home that he needed none of these things If anyone doubts this, let him 7 mark what sort of a house contented him, and in particular, let him look at the doors one might imagine that they were the very doors that Aristedemus, the descendant of Heracles¹ set up with his

vi, 52) His sons, Eurysthenes and Procles, became the first joint-kings.

λαβὼν ἐπεστήσατο· πειράσθω δὲ θεάσασθαι τὴν
ἔρδον κατασκευῆν, ἐποησάτω δέ, ὡς ἔθοις αἴεν
ἐν ταῖς θυσίαις, ἀκουσάτω δέ, ὡς ἐπὶ πολιτικοῦ
καινύθρου κατήει εἰς Ἀμύκλας ἡ θυγάτηρ αὐτοῦ.
8 τοιγαροῦν οὕτως ἐφαρμόσας τὰς δαπάγας ταῖς
προσόδοις οὐδὲν ἱγαγκάζετο χρημάτων ἔνεκα
ἀδικού πράττειν. καίτοι καλὸν μὲν δοκεῖ εἶναι
τείχη ἀνάλωτα κτᾶσθαι ὑπὸ πολεμίων· πολὺ¹
μέντοι ἔγωγε κάλλιον κρίνω τὸ τὴν αὐτοῦ ψυχὴν
ἀνάλωτον κατασκευάσαι καὶ ὑπὸ χρημάτων καὶ
ὑπὸ ἥδουνῶν καὶ ὑπὸ φόβου.

IX. Ἐλλὰ μὴν ἐρῶ γε, ὡς καὶ τὸν τρόπον
ὑπεστήσατο τῇ τοῦ Πέρσου ἀλαζονείᾳ. πρῶτον
μὲν γὰρ ὁ μὲν τῷ σπανίως ὄρασθαι ἐσεμνύνετο,
Ἀγησίλαος δὲ τῷ ἀεὶ ἐμφανῆς εἶναι ἡγάλλετο,
νομίζων αἰσχρουργίᾳ μὲν τὸ ἀφανίζεσθαι πρέπειν,
τῷ δὲ εἰς κάλλος βίῳ τὸ φῶς μᾶλλον κόσμον
2 παρέχειν. ἔπειτα δὲ ὁ μὲν τῷ δυσπρόσοδος εἶναι
ἐσεμνύνετο, ὁ δὲ τῷ πᾶσιν εὐπρόσοδος εἶναι
ἔχαιρε· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἡβρύνετο τῷ βραδέως δια-
πράττειν, ὁ δὲ τότε μάλιστα ᔁχαιρεῖν, ὅπότε
τάχιστα τυχόντας ὃν δέοιντο ἀποπέμποι.

3 Ἐλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὴν εὐπάθειαν ὅσφι ράονα
καὶ εὐπορωτέραν Ἀγησίλαος ἐπετήδευσεν, ἄξιον
κατανοῆσαι. τῷ μὲν γὰρ Πέρσῃ πᾶσαι γῆν
περιέρχονται μαστεύοντες, τί ἀν ἡδέως πίοι,
μυρίοι δὲ τεχνῶνται, τί ἀν ἡδέως φάγοι· ὅπως
γε μὴν καταδάρθοι, οὐδ' ἀν εἴποι τις ὅσα πρα-
γματεύονται. Ἀγησίλαος δὲ διὰ τὸ φιλόπονος

own hands in the days of his home coming Let him try to picture the scene within , note how he entertained on days of sacrifice, hear how his daughter used to go down to Amyclae¹ in a public car And so, thanks to this nice adjustment of his expenditure to his income, he was never compelled to commit an act of injustice for the sake of money Doubtless it is thought noble to build oneself fortresses impregnable to an enemy but in my judgment it is far nobler to fortify one's own soul against all the assaults of lucre, of pleasure, and of fear

IX I will next point out the contrast between his behaviour and the imposture of the Persian king In the first place the Persian thought his dignity required that he should be seldom seen Agesilaus delighted to be constantly visible, believing that, whereas secrecy was becoming to an ugly career, the light shed lustre on a life of noble purpose In the second place, the one prided himself on being difficult of approach the other was glad to make himself accessible to all And the one affected tardiness in negotiation the other was best pleased when he could dismiss his suitors quickly with their requests granted

In the matter of personal comfort, moreover, it is worth noticing how much simpler and how much more easily satisfied were the tastes of Agesilaus The Persian king has vintners scouring every land to find some drink that will tickle his palate, an army of cooks contrives dishes for his delight, and the trouble his lackeys take that he may sleep is indescribable But Agesilaus, thanks to his love of

¹ To the feast of Hyacinthus, see c. 1 17

εῖναι πᾶν μὲν τὸ παρὸν ἡδέως ἔπινε, πᾶν δὲ τὸ συντυχὸν ἡδέως ἡσθιεν· εἰς δὲ τὸ ἀσμένως
 4 κοιμηθῆναι πᾶς τόπος ἵκανὸς ἦν αὐτῷ. καὶ ταῦτα οὐ μόνον πράττων ἔχαιρεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνθυμούμενος ἡγάλλετο, ὅτι αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν μέσαις ταῖς εὐφροσύναις ἀναστρέφοιτο, τὸν δὲ βάρβαρον ἔώρα, εἰ μέλλοι ἀλύπως βιώσεσθαι, συνελκυστέον αὐτῷ ἀπὸ περάτων τῆς γῆς τὰ τέρψοντα.
 5 εὐφραινε δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ τάδε, ὅτι αὐτὸς μὲν ἥδει τῇ τῶν θεῶν κατασκευῇ δυνάμενος ἀλύπως χρῆσθαι, τὸν δὲ ἔώρα φεύγοντα μὲν θάλπη, φεύγοντα δὲ ψύχη δι' ἀσθένειαν ψυχῆς, οὐκ ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἀλλὰ θηρίων τῶν ἀσθενεστάτων βίου μιμούμενον.

6 Ἐκεῖνό γε μὴν πῶς οὐ καλὸν καὶ μεγαλόγνωμον, τὸ αὐτὸν μὲν ἀνδρὸς ἔργοις καὶ κτήμασι κοσμεῖν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ οἶκον, κύνας τε πολλοὺς θηρευτὰς καὶ ἵππους πολεμιστηρίους τρέφοντα, Κυνίσκαν δὲ ἀδελφὴν οὐσαν πεῖσαι ἄρματοτροφεῖν καὶ ἐπιδεῖξαι νικώσης αὐτῆς, ὅτι τὸ θρέμμα τοῦτο οὐκ ἀνδραγαθίας, ἀλλὰ πλούτου ἐπίδειγμά ἔστι.

7 τόδε γε μὴν πῶς οὐ σαφῶς πρὸς τὸ γενναιόν ἔγνω, ὅτι ἄρματι μὲν νικήσας τοὺς ἴδιώτας οὐδὲν ὄνομαστότερος ἀν γένοιτο, εἰ δὲ φίλην μὲν πάντων μᾶλιστα τὴν πόλιν ἔχοι, πλείστους δὲ φίλους καὶ ἀρίστους ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν κεκτήτο, νικάρη δὲ τὴν μὲν πατρίδα καὶ τοὺς ἔταίρους εὐεργετῶν, τοὺς δὲ ἀντιπάλους τιμωρούμενος, ὅτι ὄντως ἀν εἴη νικηφόρος τῶν καλλίστων καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτων ἀγωνισμάτων καὶ ὄνομαστότατος καὶ ζῶν καὶ τελευτῆσας γένοιτ' ἄν;

X. Ἔγὼ μὲν οὖν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔπαινω Ἀγησίλαον.

toil, enjoyed any drink that was at hand and any food that came his way; and any place was good enough to give him soft repose. Nor was he happy 4 only in this behaviour. He was also proud to reflect that, while he was surrounded with good cheer, he saw the barbarian constrained to draw from the ends of the world the material for his enjoyment, if he would live without discomfort. And it cheered 5 his heart to know that he could accommodate himself to the divine ordering of the world, whereas he saw his rival shunning heat and shunning cold through weakness of character, imitating the life, not of brave men, but of the weakest of the brutes.

Surely, too, he did what was seemly and dignified 6 when he adorned his own estate with works and possessions worthy of a man, keeping many hounds and war horses, but persuaded his sister Cynisca to breed chariot horses, and showed by her victory that such a stud marks the owner as a person of wealth, but not necessarily of merit.¹ How clearly his true 7 nobility comes out in his opinion that a victory in the chariot race over private citizens would add not a whit to his renown, but if he held the first place in the affection of the people, gained the most friends and best all over the world, outstripped all others in serving his fatherland and his comrades and in punishing his adversaries, then he would be victor in the noblest and most splendid contests, and would gain high renown both in life and after death.

X. Such, then, are the qualities for which I praise

ταῦτα γὰρ οὐχ ὥσπερ εἰ θησαυρῷ τις ἐντύχοι,
 πλουσιώτερος μὲν ἀν εἴη, οἰκονομικώτερος δὲ
 οὐδὲν ἄν, καὶ εἰ νόσου δὲ πολεμίοις ἐμπεσούσῃ
 κρατήσειεν, εὔτυχέστερος μὲν ἀν εἴη, στρατηγι-
 κώτερος δὲ οὐδὲν ἄν· ὁ δὲ καρτερίᾳ μὲν πρωτεῖν,
 ἔνθα πονεῖν καιρός, ἀλκῆ δέ, ὅπου ἀνδρεῖας ἀγών,
 γυνώμη δέ, ὅπου βουλῆς ἔργον, οὗτος ἐμοιγε δοκεῖ
 δίκαιως ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς παντελῶς ἀν νομίζεοθαί.
 2 εἰ δὲ καλὸν εὕρημα ἀνθρώποις στάθμη καὶ καρῶν
 πρὸς τὸ ἀγαθὰ ἐργάζεοθαι, καλὸν ἄν μοι δοκεῖ
 ἡ Ἀγησιλάου ἀρετὴ παράδειγμα γενέσθαι τοῖς
 ἀνδραγαθίαν ἀσκεῖν βουλομένοις. τίς γὰρ ἄν
 ἡ θεοσεβῆ μιμούμενος ἀνόσιος γένοιτο ἡ δίκαιον
 ἄδικος ἡ σώφρονα ὑβριστὴς ἡ ἐγκρατὴ ἀκρατίς;
 καὶ γὰρ δὴ οὐχ οὕτως ἐπὶ τῷ ἄλλων βασιλευει-
 ώς ἐπὶ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ἄρχειν ἐμεγαλύνετο οὐδὲν ἐπὶ
 τῷ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ πρὸς πᾶσαν
 ἀρετὴν ἡγεῖσθαι τοῖς πολίταις.
 3 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ μὴ δτι τετελευτηκῶς ἐπαιρεῖται,
 τούτου ἔνεκα θρῆνόν τις τοῦτον τὸν λόγον νομ-
 σάτω, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐγκώμιον. πρῶτον
 μὲν γὰρ ἀπερ ἡκούει, ταῦτα καὶ νῦν λέγεται
 περὶ αὐτοῦ. ἔπειτα δὲ τί καὶ πλέον θρήνον
 ἀπεστιν ἡ βίος τε εὐκλεής καὶ θάνατος ὡραῖος;
 ἐγκωμίων δὲ τί ἀξιώτερον ἡ νίκαι τε αἱ κάλλισται
 4 καὶ ἔργα τὰ πλείστου ἄξια; δίκαιως δὲ ἀν
 ἐκεῖνός γε μακαρίζοιτο, ὃς εὐθὺς μὲν ἐκ παιδὸς
 ἐρασθεῖς τοῦ εὐκλεής γενέσθαι ἔτυχε τούτου
 μάλιστα τῷ καθ ἑαυτόν φιλοτιμοτάτος έ

¹ The reference is to the ceremonial hymns sung at or after funerals, which of course contained much that would not have been said or sung in the hero's life time.

Agesilaus These are the marks that distinguish him, say, from the man who, lighting on a treasure, becomes wealthier but not wiser in business, or from the man who wins victory through an outbreak of sickness among the enemy, and adds to his success but not to his knowledge of strategy. The man who is foremost in endurance when the hour comes for toil, in valour when the contest calls for courage, in wisdom when the need is for counsel—he is the man, I think, who may fairly be regarded as the perfect embodiment of goodness. If line and rule 2 are a noble discovery of man as aids to the production of good work, I think that the virtue of Agesilaus may well stand as a noble example for those to follow who wish to make moral goodness a habit. For who that imitates a pious, a just, a sober, a self controlled man, can come to be unrighteous, unjust, violent, wanton? In point of fact, Agesilaus prided himself less on reigning over others than on ruling himself, less on leading the people against their enemies than on guiding them to all virtue.

However, let it not be thought, because one whose 3 life is ended is the theme of my praise, that these words are meant for a funeral dirge.¹ They are far more truly the language of eulogy. In the first place the words now applied to him are the very same that he heard in his lifetime. And, in the second place, what theme is less appropriate to a dirge than a life of fame and a death well timed? What more worthy of eulogies than victories most glorious and deeds of sovereign worth? Justly may 4 the man be counted blessed who was in love with glory from early youth and won more of it than any man of his age, who, being by nature very covetous

πεφυκὼς ἀήττητος διετέλεσεν, ἐπεὶ βασιλεὺς ἐγένετο· ἀφικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ μῆκιστον ἀνθρωπίνου αἰῶνος ἀναμάρτητος ἐτελεύτησε καὶ περὶ τούτους, ὃν ἡγεῖτο, καὶ πρὸς ἑκείνους, οἷς ἐπολέμει.

XI. Βούλομαι δὲ καὶ ἐν κεφαλαιοῖς ἐπανελθεῖν τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦ, ώς ἀν ὁ ἐπαινος εὔμιημονεστέρως ἔχῃ.

Ἄγησίλαος ἱερὰ μὲν καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐσέβετο, ἡγούμενος τοὺς θεοὺς οὐχ ἡττον ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ χρῆναι ἢ ἐν τῇ φιλίᾳ συμμάχους ποιεῖσθαι.

Ικέτας δὲ θεῶν οὐδὲ ἔχθροὺς ἐβιάζετο, νομίζων ἄλογον εἶναι τοὺς μὲν ἐξ ἱερῶν κλέπτοντας ἵεροσύλους καλεῖν, τοὺς δὲ βωμῶν ίκέτας ἀποσπῶντας εὐσεβεῖς ἡγεῖσθαι.

2 Ἐκεῖνός γε μὴν ὑμνῶν οὕποτ' ἔλιγγεν, ώς τοὺς θεοὺς οἴοιτο οὐδὲν ἡττον δσίοις ἔργοις ἢ ἀγνοῖς ἱεροῖς ἡδεσθαι.

Ἄλλὰ μὴν καὶ ὅπότε εὐτυχοίη, οὐκ ἀνθρώπων ὑπερεφρόνει, ἀλλὰ θεοῖς χάριν ἥδει. καὶ θαρρῶν πλείονα ἔθυεν ἢ ὀκνῶν ηὔχετο.

Εἴθιστο δὲ φοβούμενος μὲν ἰλαρὸς φαίνεσθαι, εὐτυχῶν δὲ πρᾶος εἶναι.

3 Τῶν γε μὴν φίλων οὐ τοὺς δυνατωτάτους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς προθυμοτάτους μάλιστα ἡσπάζετο.

Ἐμίσει δὲ οὐκ εἴ τις κακῶς πάσχων ἡμύνετο, ἀλλ' εἴ τις εὐεργετούμενος ἀχάριστος φαίνοιτο.

Ἐχαιρε δὲ τοὺς μὲν αἰσχροκερδεῖς πένητας ὄρῶν, τοὺς δὲ δικαίους πλουσίους ποιῶν, βουλόμενος τὴν δικαιοσύνην τῆς ἀδικίας κερδαλεωτέραν καθιστάναι.

of honour, never once knew defeat from the day that he became a king; who, after living to the utmost limit of human life, died without one blunder to his account, either concerning the men whom he led or in dealing with those on whom he made war.

XI. I propose to go through the story of his virtue again, and to summarize it, in order that the praise of it may be more easily remembered

Agesilaus reverenced holy places even when they belonged to an enemy, thinking that he ought to make allies of the gods no less in hostile than in friendly countries.

To suppliants of the gods, even if his foes, he did no violence, believing it unreasonable to call robbers of temples sacrilegious and yet to consider those who dragged suppliants from altars pious men.

My hero never failed to dwell on his opinion 2 that the gods have pleasure in righteous deeds no less than in holy temples

In the hour of success he was not puffed up with pride, but gave thanks to the gods. He offered more sacrifices when confident than prayers when in doubt.

He was wont to look cheerful when in fear, and to be humble when successful

Of his friends he welcomed most heartily not the 3 most powerful, but the most devoted

He hated not the man who defended himself when injured, but such as showed no gratitude for a favour.

He rejoiced to see the avaricious poor and to enrich the upright, desiring to render right more profitable than wrong

ΛΕΝΟΡΙΩΝ

- 4 ^π Ποκει δὲ ἔξομιλεῖν μὲν ταυτοδα-οῖς, χρῆσθαι
δὲ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς
 'Οτότε δὲ ψεγόιτων ή ἐπαινούντων τινὰς
ἀκουοι, οὐχ ἡττον ὥστο καταμαιθαι εἰν τοὺς τῶν
λεγόντωι τρόπους ή τερὶ ὡν λέγοιει
 Καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ φίλων ἔξαπατωμέοις οὐκ
ἔψεγε, τους δὲ ὑπὸ πολεμίων πάμταν κατε-
μεμφετο καὶ το μὲν ἀγιστοῦντας ἔξαπατᾶν σοφον
ἔκριε, τὸ δὲ πιστευούντας ἀγόστιον
- 5 ^β Ἐπαινούμενος δε ἔχαιρει ὑπὸ τῶν καὶ ψέγειν
ἔθελόντων τὰ μὴ ἀρεστὰ καὶ τῶν παρρησιαζομενῶν
οὐδένα ἥχθραιε, τους δὲ κρυψίνους ὡσπερ
ἐνεδρας ἐφυλαττετο
 Τούς γε μὴν διαβόλους μᾶλλον ή τους κλέπτας
ἔμίσει, μειζω ζημιαν ἡγούμενος φίλων ή χρηματων
6 ^σ στερίσκεσθαι καὶ τας μὲν τῶν ἴδιωτῶν αμαρτιας
πρᾶως ἔφερε, τὰς δὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων μεγαλας ἥγε,
κρίνων τους μεν ὄλιγα, τους δὲ πολλὰ κακῶς
διατιθέναι
- 7 Τῇ δὲ βασιλεια προσήκειν ἐνόμιζεν οὐ ρᾶδι
ουργιαν, αλλὰ καλοκαγαθιαν
7 ^κ Καὶ τοῦ μεν σωματος εἰκονα στήσασθαι ἀπέσ-
χετο πολλῶν αυτῷ τοῦτο δωρεῖσθαι θελοντων,
τῆς δε ψυχῆς ουδέποτε ἐπανετο μνημεῖα διαπο-
νουμενος, ηγουμενος τὸ μεν ανδριαντοποιῶν, το
δε αυτοῦ ἔργον εἶναι καὶ το μεν πλουσίων, το δε
τῶν ἀγαθῶν
- 8 ^λ Χρημασι γε μὴν οὐ μονον δικαιως, ἀλλὰ καὶ
ἐλευθεριως ἔχρητο, τῷ μεν δικαιω ἀρκεῖν ἥγου
μενος το ἔᾶν τα αλλοτρια, τῷ δὲ ἐλευθεριῳ καὶ
τῶν εαυτοῦ προσωφελητέον εἶναι

It was his habit to associate with all sorts and conditions of men, but to be intimate with the good.

Whenever he heard men praise or blame others, he thought that he gained as much insight into the character of the critics as of the persons they criticized.

If friends proved deceivers he bore to blame their victims, but he heaped reproaches on those who let an enemy deceive them; and he pronounced deception clever or wicked according as it was practised on the suspicious or the confiding.

The praise of those who were prepared to censure faults they disapproved was pleasing to him, and he never resented candour, but avoided dissimulation like a snare.

Slanderers he hated more than thieves, deeming loss of friends graver than loss of money. The mistakes of private persons he judged leniently, because few interests suffer by their incompetence; but the errors of rulers he treated as serious, since they lead to many troubles.

Kingship, he held, demands not indolence, but manly virtue.

He would not allow a statue of himself to be set up, though many wanted to give him one, but on memorials of his mind he laboured unceasingly, thinking the one to be the sculptor's work, the other his own, the one appropriate to the rich, the other to the good.

In the use of money he was not only just but generous, thinking that a just man may be content to leave other men's money alone, but the generous man is required also to spend his own in the service of others.

ΧΕΝΟΡΙΙΟΝ

Αεὶ δὲ δεισιδαιόμων ἡν, νομίζων τοὺς μὲν καλῶς
ζῶντας οὕπω εὐδαιμονας, τοὺς δὲ εὐκλεῶς τετε-
λευτηκότας ἥδη μακαρίους.

9 Μείζω δὲ συμφορὰν ἔκρινε τὸ γιγνώσκοντα ἡ
ἀγνοοῦντα ἀμελεῖν τῶν ἀγαθῶν.

Δόξης δὲ οὐδεμιᾶς ἡρα, ἵνα οὐκ ἐξεπόνει τὰ
ἴδια.

Μετ' ὄλιγων δέ μοι ἔδοκει ἀνθρώπων οὐ καρ-
τερίαν τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἀλλ' εὐπάθειην νομίζειν.
ἐπαινούμενος γοῦν ἔχαιρε μᾶλλον ἢ χρήματα
κτώμενος.

10 'Αλλὰ μὴν ἀνδρείαν γε τὸ πλέον μετ' εὐβουλίας
ἢ μετὰ κινδύνων ἐπεδείκνυτο καὶ σοφίαν ἔργῳ
μᾶλλον ἢ λόγοις ἤσκει.

Πραότατός γε μὴν φίλοις ὧν ἔχθροῖς φοβερώ-
τατος ἦν· καὶ πόνοις μάλιστα ἀντέχων ἑταῖροις
ἥδιστα ὑπεῖκε, καλῶν ἔργων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν καλῶν
σωμάτων ἐπιθυμῶν.

11 'Ἐν γε μὴν ταῖς εὐπραξίαις σωφρονεῖν ἐπι-
στάμενος ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς εὐθαρσῆς ἐδύνατο
εἶναι.

Καὶ τὸ εὔχαρι οὐ σκώμμασιν, ἀλλὰ τρόπῳ
ἐπετήδευε καὶ τῷ μεγαλόφρονι οὐ σὺν ὕβρει,
ἀλλὰ σὺν γνώμῃ ἔχρητο· τῶν γοῦν ὑπεραύχων
καταφρονῶν τῶν μετρίων ταπεινότερος ἦν, καὶ
γὰρ ἐκαλλωπίζετο τῇ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸ σῶμα φαυ-
λότητι, τῷ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸ στράτευμα κόσμῳ, τῷ δὲ
αὐτὸς μὲν ὡς ἐλαχίστων δεῖσθαι, τοὺς δὲ φίλους
12 ὡς πλεῖστα ὠφελεῖν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις βαρύ-
τατος μὲν ἀνταγωνιστὴς ἦν, κουφότατος δὲ
κρατήσας, ἔχθροῖς μὲν δυσεξαπάτητος, φίλοις δὲ
εὐπαραπειστότατος.

He was ever god fearing, believing that they who are living life well are not yet happy, but only they who have died gloriously are blessed

He held it a greater calamity to neglect that which is good knowingly than in ignorance

No fame attracted him unless he did the right work to achieve it

He seemed to me one of the few men who count virtue not a task to be endured but a comfort to be enjoyed At any rate praise give him more pleasure than money.

Courage, as he displayed it, was joined with prudence rather than boldness, and wisdom he cultivated more by action than in words

Very gentle with friends, he was very formidable to enemies, and while he resisted fatigue obstinately, he yielded most readily to a comrade, though fair deeds appealed more to his heart than fair faces

To moderation in times of prosperity he added confidence in the midst of danger

His urbanity found its habitual expression not in jokes but in his manner, and when on his dignity, he was never arrogant, but always reasonable, at least, if he showed his contempt for the haughty, he was humbler than the average man For he prided himself on the simplicity of his own dress and the splendid equipment of his army, on a strict limitation of his own needs and a boundless generosity to his friends Added to this, he was the bitterest of adversaries, but the mildest of conquerors, wary with enemies, but very compliant to friends

'Αεὶ δὲ τιθεὶς τὰ τῶν φίλων ἀσφαλῶς ἀεὶ¹
ἀμαυροῦν τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἔργον εἶχεν.

- 13 Ἐκεῖνον οἱ μὲν συγγεγεῖς φιλοκηδεμόνα ἔκαλουν, οἱ δὲ χρώμενοι ἀπροφάσιστον, οἱ δὲ ὑπουργήσαντές τι μηῆμοντα, οἱ δὲ ἀδικούμενοι ἐπίκουροι, οἵ γε μὴν συγκινδυνεύοντες μετὰ θεοὺς σωτῆρα.
- 14 Δοκεῖ δὲ ἔμοιγε καὶ τόδε μόνος ἀνθρώπων ἐπιδεῖξαι, ὅτι ἡ μὲν τοῦ σώματος ἴσχὺς γηράσκει, ἡ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ρώμη τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀγιήρατός ἐστιν. ἐκεῖνος γοῦν οὐκ ἀπεῖπε μεγάλης καὶ καλῆς ἐφιέμενος δόξης,¹ εἰ καὶ μὴ τὸ σῶμα φέρειν ἥδυνατο τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ ρώμην.
- 15 τοιγαροῦν ποίας οὐ νεότητος κρείττον τὸ ἐκείνου γῆρας ἐφάνη; τίς μὲν γάρ τοῖς ἔχθροῖς ἀκμάζων οὗτῳ φοβερὸς ἦν ὡς Ἀγησίλαος τὸ μήκιστον τοῦ αἰώνος ἔχων; τίνος δὲ ἐκποδῶν γενομένου μᾶλλον ἡσθησαν οἱ πολέμιοι ἡ Ἀγησίλαον καίπερ γηραιοῦ τελευτήσαντος; τίς δὲ συμμάχοις θύρρος παρέσχεν ὅσον Ἀγησίλαος καίπερ ἥδη πρὸς τῷ στόματι τοῦ βίου ᾖν; τίνα δὲ νέον οἱ φίλοι πλέον ἐπόθησαν ἡ Ἀγησίλαον γηραιὸν ἀποθανόντα; οὗτῳ δὲ τελέως ὁ ἀνήρ τῇ πατρίδι ὠφέλιμος ὅν διεγένετο, ὡς καὶ τετελευτηκὼς ἥδη ἔτι μεγαλείως ὠφελῶν τὴν πόλιν εἰς τὴν ἀΐδιον οἰκησιν κατηγάγετο, μνημεῖα μὲν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀρετῆς ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν κτησάμενος, τῆς δὲ βασιλικῆς ταφῆς ἐν τῇ πατρίδι τυχών.

¹ The text is corrupt. δόξης εἰ καὶ μὴ is wanting in A, which has μεγάλην καὶ καλήν.

While ever ensuring security to his own side, he ever made it his business to nought the designs of his enemy.

By his relatives he was described as "devoted to 1 his family," by his intimates as "an unfailing friend,"¹ by those who served him as "unforgetful, by the oppressed as "a champion," by his comrades in danger as "a saviour second to the gods."

In one respect, I think, he was unique He 14 proved that, though the bodily strength decays, the vigour of good men's souls is ageless At any rate, he never wearied in the pursuit of great and noble glory so long as his body could support the vigour of his soul What man's youth, then, did not 15 seem weaker than his old age? For who in his prime was so formidable to his foes as Agesilaus at the very limit of human life? Whose removal brought such welcome relief to the enemy as the death of Agesilaus, despite his years? Who gave such confidence to allies as Agesilaus, though now on the threshold of death? What young man was more regretted by his friends than Agesilaus, though he died full of years? So complete was the record of 16 his service to his fatherland that it did not end even when he died he was still a bountiful benefactor of the state when he was brought home to be laid in his eternal resting place, and, having raised up monuments of his virtue throughout the world, was buried with royal ceremony in his own land²

¹ *Hellenica*, V v 45

² The reference is to the money which Agesilaus had obtained in Egypt, and which was brought to the city with his body. For the burial see *Const. of the Lac*, end

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**CONSTITUTION OF THE
LACEDAEMONIANS**

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ

Ι. Ἄλλ' ἔγώ ἐννοήσας ποτέ, ώς ἡ Σπάρτη τῶν δλιγανθρωποτάτων πόλεων οὐσα δυνατωτάτη τε καὶ ὄνομαστοτάτη ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐφάνη, ἐθαύμασα, ὅτῳ ποτὲ τρόπῳ τοῦτ' ἐγένετο· ἐπεὶ μέντοι κατενόησα τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, οὐκέτι ἐθαύμαζον.

2 Λυκοῦργον μέντοι τὸν θέντα αὐτοῖς τοὺς νόμους, οἷς πειθόμενοι ηὔδαιμόνησαν, τοῦτον καὶ θαυμάζω καὶ εἰς τὰ ἔσχατα σοφὸν ἥγοῦμαι. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ οὐ μιμησάμενος τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐναντία γνοὺς ταῖς πλείσταις πρέχουσαν εὑδαιμονίᾳ τὴν πατρίδα ἐπέδειξεν.

3 Αὐτίκα γὰρ περὶ τεκνοποίας, ἵνα ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄρξωμαι, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τὰς μελλούσας τίκτειν καὶ καλῶς δοκούσας κόρας παιδεύεσθαι καὶ σίτῳ ἡ ἀνυστὸν μετριωτάτῳ τρέφουσι καὶ δψῳ ἡ δυνατὸν μικροτάτῳ οἴνου γε μὴν ἡ πάμπαν ἀπεχομένας ἡ ὑδαρεῖ χρωμένας διάγουσιν. ὥσπερ δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν τὰς τέχνας ἔχοντων ἐδραῖοι εἰσιν, οὗτω καὶ τὰς κόρας οἱ ἄλλοι "Ἑλληνες ἡρεμιζούσας ἐριουργεῖν ἀξιοῦσι. τὰς μὲν οὖν οὗτω τρεφομένας πῶς χρὴ προσδοκῆσαι μεγαλεῖον ἄν τε γενιῆσαι;

CONSTITUTION OF THE LACEDAEMONIANS

I IT occurred to me one day that Sparta, though among the most thinly populated of states, was evidently the most powerful and most celebrated city in Greece, and I fell to wondering how this could have happened. But when I considered the institutions of the Spartans, I wondered no longer.

Lycurgus, who gave them the laws that they obey, and to which they owe their prosperity, I do regard with wonder, and I think that he reached the utmost limit of wisdom. For it was not by imitating other states, but by devising a system utterly different from that of most others, that he made his country pre-eminently prosperous.

First, to begin at the beginning, I will take the begetting of children.¹ In other states the girls who are destined to become mothers and are brought up in the approved fashion, live on the very plainest fare, with a most meagre allowance of delicacies. Wine is either withheld altogether, or, if allowed them, is diluted with water. The rest of the Greeks expect their girls to imitate the sedentary life that is typical of handcraftsmen—to keep quiet and do wool work. How, then, is it to be expected that women so brought up will bear fine children?

¹ The prose *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians* by Critias began with the same point. See Introduction III.

καθίστανται, δις δὴ καὶ παιδονόμος καλεῖται.
 τοῦτον δὲ κύριον ἐποίησε καὶ ἀθροίζειν τοὺς
 παῖδας καὶ ἐπισκοποῦντα, εἴ τις ῥάδιουργοίη,
 ἴσχυρῶς κολάζειν. ἔδωκε δ' αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν
 ἡβώντων μαστιγοφόρους, ὅπως τιμωροῖεν ὅτε
 δέοι· ὥστε πολλὴν μὲν αἰδῶ, πολλὴν δὲ πειθὼ
 3 ἐκεῖ συμπαρεῖναι. ἀντί γε μὴν τοῦ ἀπαλύνειν
 τοὺς πόδας ὑποδήμασιν ἔταξεν ἀνυποδησίᾳ κρα-
 τύνειν, νομίζων, εἰ τοῦτ' ἀσκήσειαν, πολὺ μὲν
 ῥᾷον ἀν δρθιάδε βαίνειν, ἀσφαλέστερον δὲ πρανῆ
 καταβαίνειν, καὶ πηδῆσαι δὲ καὶ ἀναθορεῖν καὶ
 δραμεῖν θᾶττον τὸν¹ ἀνυπόδητον, εἰ ἡσκηκὼς εἴη
 4 τοὺς πόδας, ἢ τὸν ὑποδεδεμένον. καὶ ἀντί γε
 τοῦ ἴματίοις διαθρύπτεσθαι ἐνόμισεν ἐνὶ ἴματιώ
 δι' ἔτους προσεθίζεσθαι, νομίζων οὕτως καὶ πρὸς
 ψύχην καὶ πρὸς θάλπη ἄμεινον ἀν παρεσκευάσθαι.
 5 σῖτον γε μὴν ἔταξε τοσοῦτον ἔχοντα συμβολεύειν
 τὸν εἵρενα, ὡς ὑπὸ πλησμούης μὲν μήποτε βαρύ-
 νεσθαι, τοῦ δὲ ἐνδεεστέρως διάγειν μὴ ἀπείρως
 ἔχειν, νομίζων τοὺς οὕτω παιδευομένους μᾶλλον
 μὲν ἀν δύνασθαι, εἰ δεήσειεν, ἀσιτήσαντας ἐπιπο-
 νῆσαι, μᾶλλον δ' ἀν, εἰ παραγγελθείη, ἀπὸ τοῦ
 αὐτοῦ σῖτου πλείω χρόνον ἐπιταθῆναι, ἡττον δ'
 6 ἀν δψου δεῖσθαι, εὐχερέστερον δὲ πρὸς πᾶν ἔχειν
 βρῶμα καὶ ὑγιεινοτέρως δ' ἀν διάγειν, καὶ εἰς

¹ τὸν, wanting in the MSS. and in S., is twice supplied by Cobet.

sent to the "Warden" as he is called. He gave this person authority to gather the boys together, to take charge of them and to punish them severely in case of misconduct. He also assigned to him a staff of youths provided with whips to chastise them when necessary, and the result is that modesty and obedience are inseparable companions at Sparta. 3 Instead of softening the boys' feet with sandals he required them to harden their feet by going without shoes. He believed that if this habit were cultivated it would enable them to climb hills more easily and descend steep inclines with less danger, and that a youth who had accustomed himself to go barefoot would leap and jump and run more nimbly than a boy in sandals. And instead of 4 letting them be pampered in the matter of clothing, he introduced the custom of wearing one garment throughout the year, believing that they would thus be better prepared to face changes of heat and cold. As to the food, he required 5 the prefect to bring with him¹ such a moderate amount of it that the boys would never suffer from repletion, and would know what it was to go with their hunger unsatisfied, for he believed that those who underwent this training would be better able to continue working on an empty stomach, if necessary, and would be capable of carrying on longer without extra food, if the word of command were given to do so. They would want fewer delicacies and would accommodate themselves more readily to anything put before them, and at the same time would enjoy better health. He also thought that a diet which 6

¹ οὐεβούλευεν ὅτι, "he recommended them to eat so moderately that they", and this is probably right.

μῆκος ἀν αὐξάνεσθαι τὴν ῥαδινὰ τὰ σώματα ποιοῦσαν τροφὴν μᾶλλον συλλαμβάνειν ἵγήσανται τὴν διαπλατύνουσαν τῷ σίτῳ.

'Ως δὲ μὴ ὑπὸ λιμοῦ ἄγαν αὖ πιέζοιντο, ἀπραγμόνως μὲν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἔδωκε λαμβάνειν ὡν ἀπροσδέωνται, κλέπτειν δ' ἐφῆκεν ἔστιν ἡ τῷ λιμῷ ἐπικουροῦντας. καὶ ὡς μὲν οὐκ ἀπορῶν ὅ τι δοίη ἐφῆκεν αὐτοῖς γε μηχανᾶσθαι τὴν τροφήν, οὐδέντα οἷμαι τοῦτο ἀγνοεῖν· δῆλον δ' ὅτι τὸν μέλλοντα κλωπεύειν καὶ νυκτὸς ἀγρυπνεῖν δεῖ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἀπατᾶν καὶ ἐιεδρεύειν, καὶ κατασκόπους δὲ ἔτοιμάζειν τὸν μελλοντά τι λήψεσθαι. ταῦτα οὖν δὴ πάντα δῆλον ὅτι μηχανικωτέρους τῶν ἐπιτηδείων βουλόμενος τοὺς παιδας ποιεῖν καὶ πολεμικωτέρους οὕτως ἐπαίδευσεν.

8 Εἴποι δ' ἀν οὖν τις, τί δῆτα, εἴπερ τὸ κλέπτειν ἀγαθὸν ἐνόμιζε, πολλὰς πληγὰς ἐπέβαλε τῷ ἀλισκομένῳ; ὅτι, φημὶ ἐγώ, καὶ τάλλα, ὅσα ἀνθρωποι διδάσκουσι, κολάζουσι τὸν μὴ καλῶς ὑπηρετοῦντα. κάκεῖνοι οὖν τοὺς ἀλισκομένους 9 ὡς κακῶς κλέπτοντας τιμωροῦνται. καὶ ὡς πλείστους δὴ ἀρπάσαι τυροὺς [παρ' Ὁρθίας] καλὸν θεὶς μαστιγοῦν τούτους ἄλλοις ἐπέταξε, τοῦτο δὴ δηλῶσαι καὶ ἐν τούτῳ βουλόμενος, ὅτι ἔστιν ὀλίγον χρόνον ἀλγήσαντα πολὺν χρόνον εὑδοκιμοῦντα εὐφραίνεσθαι. δηλοῦται δὲ ἐν

¹ *Anabasis*, IV. vi. 14

² At this altar the annual scourging of Spartan boys and youths took place, according to Plutarch and Pausanias; but

made their bodies slim would do more to increase their height than one that consisted of flesh forming food

On the other hand, lest they should feel too much the pinch of hunger,¹ while not giving them the opportunity of taking what they wanted without trouble he allowed them to alleviate their hunger by stealing something It was not on account of a difficulty in 7 providing for them that he encouraged them to get their food by their own cunning No one, I suppose, can fail to see that Obviously a man who intends to take to thieving must spend sleepless nights and play the deceiver and lie in ambush by day, and moreover, if he means to make a capture, he must have spies ready There can be no doubt then, that all this education was planned by him in order to make the boys more resourceful in getting supplies, and better fighting men

Someone may ask But why, if he believed 8 stealing to be a fine thing, did he have the boy who was caught beaten with many stripes? I reply Because in all cases men punish a learner for not carrying out properly whatever he is taught to do So the Spartans chastise those who get caught for stealing badly He made it a point of honour to 9 steal as many cheeses as possible [from the altar of Artemis Orthia],² but appointed others to scourge the thieves, meaning to show thereby that by enduring pain for a short time one may win lasting fame and felicity It is shown herein that

this custom seems to have no connexion with that of punishing those who were caught thieving It is not improbable that the whole of this sentence is an interpolation, if not, the text is corrupt beyond restoration.

τούτῳ, ὅτι καὶ ὅπου τάχους δεῖ ὁ βλακεύων
ἔλαχιστα μὲν ὠφελεῖται, πλεῖστα δὲ πράγματα
λαμβάνει.

10 "Οπως δὲ μηδ' εἰ ὁ παιδονόμος ἀπέλθοι, ἔρημοί
ποτε οἱ παῖδες εἰεν ἄρχοντος, ἐποίησε τὸν ἀεὶ¹
παρόντα τῶν πολιτῶν κύριον εἶναι καὶ ἐπιτάπτει²
τοῖς παισὶν ὃ τι ἀγαθὸν δοκοίη εἶναι καὶ κολάζειν,
εἴ τι ἀμαρτάνοιεν. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας διέπραξε
καὶ αἰδημονεστέρους εἶναι τοὺς παῖδας· οὐδὲν
γάρ οὕτως αἰδοῦνται οὔτε παῖδες οὔτε ἄνδρες

11 ὡς τοὺς ἄρχοντας. ὡς δὲ καὶ εἴ ποτε μηδεὶς
τύχοι ἀνὴρ παρών, μηδ' ὡς ἔρημοι οἱ παῖδες
ἄρχοντος εἰεν, ἔθηκε τῆς Ἰλης ἐκάστης τὸν
τορώτατον τῶν εἰρένων ἄρχειν· ὥστε οὐδέποτε
ἐκεῖ οἱ παῖδες ἔρημοι ἄρχοντός εἰσι.

12 Λεκτέον δέ μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι καὶ περὶ τῶν
παιδικῶν ἑρώτων· ἔστι γάρ τι καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς
παιδείαν. οἱ μὲν τοίνυν ἄλλοι "Ἐλληνες ἡ ὥσπερ
Βοιωτοὶ ἀνὴρ καὶ παῖς συζυγέντες ὄμιλοῦσιν ἡ
ὥσπερ Ἡλεῖοι διὰ χαρίτων τῇ ὥρᾳ χρῶνται· εἰσὶ¹
δὲ καὶ οἱ παντάπαι τοῦ διαλέγεσθαι τοὺς
έραστὰς εἰργουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν παίδων.

13 "Ο δὲ Λυκοῦργος ἐναντία καὶ τούτοις πᾶσι γνοὺς
εὶ μέν τις αὐτὸς ὃν οἶον δεῖ ἀγασθεὶς ψυχὴν παι-
δὸς πειρῶτο ἀμεμπτον φίλον ἀποτελέσασθαι καὶ
συνεῖναι, ἐπήνει καὶ καλλίστην παιδείαν ταύτην
ἐνόμιζεν· εἰ δέ τις παιδὸς σώματος ὀρεγόμενος
φανείη, αἰσχιστον τοῦτο θεὶς ἐποίησεν ἐν Λακε-
δαίμονι μηδὲν ἡττον ἔραστὰς παιδικῶν ἀπέχεσθαι
ἡ γονεῖς παίδων καὶ¹ ἀδελφὸι ἀδελφῶν εἰς
ἀφροδίσια ἀπέχονται.

¹ ή καὶ S. with the MSS.: ή was removed by Schäfer.

where there is need of swiftness, the slothful, as usual, gets little profit and many troubles.

In order that the boys might never lack a ruler even when the Warden was away, he gave authority to any citizen who chanced to be present to require them to do anything that he thought right, and to punish them for any misconduct. This had the effect of making the boys more respectful; in fact boys and men alike respect their rulers above everything. And that a ruler might not be lacking to the boys even when no grown man happened to be present, he selected the keenest of the prefects, and gave to each the command of a division. And so at Sparta the boys are never without a ruler.

I think I ought to say something also about intimacy with boys, since this matter also has a bearing on education. In other Greek states, for instance among the Boeotians, man and boy live together, like married people;¹ elsewhere, among the Eleians, for example, consent is won by means of favours. Some, on the other hand, entirely forbid suitors to talk with boys.

The customs instituted by Lycurgus were opposed to all of these. If someone, being himself an honest man, admired a boy's soul and tried to make of him an ideal friend without reproach and to associate with him, he approved, and believed in the excellence of this kind of training. But if it was clear that the attraction lay in the boy's outward beauty, he banned the connexion as an abomination; and thus he purged the relationship of all *paτητικόν*, so that in his education it resembled parental and brotherly love.

4 Τὸ μέίτοι ταῦτα ἀπιστεῖσθαι ἵπο τινῶν οὐ θαυμάζω· ἐν πολλαῖς γὰρ τῶν πόλεων οἱ νόμοι οὐκ ἔγαντιοῦνται ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς παῖδας ἐπιθυμίαις.

‘Η μὲν δὴ παιδεία εἴρηται ἡ τε Λακωνικὴ καὶ ἡ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐξ ὅποτέρας δ’ αὐτῶν καὶ εὐπειθέστεροι καὶ πιδημογέστεροι καὶ ὡν δεῖ ἐγκρατέστεροι ἄνδρες ἀποτελοῦνται. ὁ βουλόμενος καὶ ταῦτα ἐπισκοπεῖσθω.

III. “Οταν γε μὴν ἐκ παίδων εἰς τὸ μειρακιοῦσθαι ἐκβαίνωσι, τηγικαῦτα οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι παύουσι μὲν ἀπὸ παιδαγωγῶν, παύουσι δὲ ἀπὸ διδασκάλων, ἅρχουσι δὲ οὐδένες ἔτι αὐτῶν, ἀλλ’ αὐτονόμους ἀφίῦσιν ὁ δὲ Λυκοῦργος καὶ τούτων 2 τάναυτία ἔγνω. καταμαθὼν γὰρ τοῖς τηλικούτοις μέγιστον μὲν φρόνημα ἐμφυόμενον, μάλιστα δὲ ὑβριν ἐπιπολάζουσαν, ἴσχυροτάτας δὲ ἐπιθυμίας τῶν ἥδονῶν παρισταμένας, τηγικαῦτα πλείστους μὲν πόνους αὐτοῖς ἐπέβαλε, πλείστην δὲ ἀσχολίαν 3 ἐμηχανήσατο. ἐπιθεὶς δὲ καὶ εἰ τις ταῦτα φύγοι, μηδενὸς ἔτι τῶν καλῶν τυγχάνειν, ἐποίησε μὴ μόνον τοὺς ἐκ δημοσίου ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς κηδομένους ἐκάστων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ώς μὴ ἀποδειλιάσαντες ἀδόκιμοι παντάπασιν ἐν τῇ πόλει γένοιντο.

4 Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὸ αἰδεῖσθαι ἴσχυρῶς ἐμφυσιῶσαι βουλόμενος αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐπέταξεν ἐντὸς μὲν τοῦ ἴματίου τῷ χεῖρε ἔχειν, σιγῆ δὲ πορεύεσθαι, περιβλέπειν δὲ μηδαμοῖ, ἀλλ’ αὐτὰ τὰ πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν ὄρᾶν. ἐνθα δὴ καὶ δῆλον γεγένηται, ὅτι τὸ ἄρρεν φῦλον καὶ εἰς τὸ σωφρονεῖν ἴσχυρότερον ἔστι τῆς θηλείας 5 φύσεως. ἐκείνων γοῦν ἡττον μὲν ἀν φωνὴν

I am not surprised, however, that people refuse 14
to believe this. For in many states the laws are
not opposed to the indulgence of these appen-
tites

I have now dealt with the Spartan system of edu-
cation, and that of the other Greek states. Which
system turns out men more obedient, more respectful,
and more strictly temperate, anyone who chooses
may once more judge for himself

III When a boy ceases to be a child, and begins
to be a lad, others release him from his moral tutor
and his schoolmaster. He is then no longer under
a ruler and is allowed to go his own way. Here
again Lycurgus introduced a wholly different
system. For he observed that at this time of life 2
self will makes strong root in a boy's mind, a
tendency to insolence manifests itself, and a keen
appetite for pleasure in different forms takes posses-
sion of him. At this stage, therefore, he imposed on
him a ceaseless round of work, and contrived a con-
stant round of occupation. The penalty for shirking 3
the duties was exclusion from all future honours.
He thus caused not only the public authorities, but
their relations also to take pains that the lads did
not incur the contempt of their fellow citizens by
flinching from their tasks.

Moreover, wishing modesty to be firmly rooted 4
in them, he required them to keep their hands
under their cloaks, to walk in silence, not to look
about them, but to fix their eyes on the ground.
The effect of this rule has been to prove that even
in the matter of decorum the male is stronger than
the female sex. At any rate you would expect a 5

ΧΕΝΟΓΗΙΟΝ

ἀκούσαις ή τῶν λιθίων, ὑπτοι δ' ἀν δῆματα μεταστρέψαις ή τῶν χαλκῶν, αἰδημοιεστέροντος δ' ἀν αὐτοὺς ἡγήσαιο καὶ αἴτοι τῶν ἐν τοῖς θαλάμοις παρθένων. καὶ ἐπειδὴν εἰς τὸ φιλίτιόν γε ἀφίκονται, ἀγαπητὸν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ ἔρωτηθὲν ἀκοῦσαι.

Καὶ τῶν μὲν αὖ παιδίσκων οὗτως ἐπεμελήθη.

IV. Περὶ γε μὴν τῶν ἱβώντων πολὺ μάλιστα ἐσπούδασε, νομίζων τούτους, εἰ γένοιντο οἵους δεῖ, πλεῖστον ρέπειν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν τῇ πόλει. 2 ὄρῶν οὖν, οἷς ἀν μάλιστα φιλοιεικία ἐγγένηται, τούτων καὶ χοροὺς ἀξιακροατοτάτους γιγγομένους καὶ γυμνικοὺς ἀγῶνας ἀξιοθετοτάτους, ἐνόμιζεν, εἰ καὶ τοὺς ἥβῶντας συμβάλλοι εἰς ἕριν περὶ ἀρετῆς, οὗτως ἀν καὶ τούτους ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀφικεῖσθαι ἀνδραγαθίας. ὡς οὖν τούτους αὖ συνέβαλεν, ἔξηγήσομαι

3 Αἱροῦνται τοῖνυν αὐτῶν οἱ ἔφοροι ἐκ τῶν ἀκμαζόντων τρεῖς ἄνδρας· οὗτοι δὲ ἵππαγρέται καλοῦνται. τούτων δ' ἔκαστος ἄνδρας ἔκατὸν καταλέγει, διασαφηνίζων, ὅτου ἔνεκα τοὺς μὲν 4 προτειμᾷ, τοὺς δὲ ἀποδοκιμάζει. οἱ οὖν μὴ τυγχάνοντες τῶν καλῶν πολεμοῦσι τοῖς τε ἀποστείλασιν αὐτοὺς καὶ τοῖς αἱρεθεῖσιν ἀνθ' αὐτῶν, καὶ παραφυλάττουσιν ἀλλήλους, ἐάν τι παρὰ τὰ καλὰ νομίζομενα ῥαδιουργῶσι.

5 Καὶ αὕτη δὴ γίγνεται ἡ θεεφιλεστάτη τε καὶ

¹ Longinus and Stobaeus quote this with δῆμοις, "eyes," in place of θαλάμοις, "bridal chambers"; and the former considers the use of παρθένων for κορῶν, meaning "pupils" of the eye.

² Cyropaedia, II. i. 22.

stone image to utter a sound sooner than those lads; you would sooner attract the attention of a bronze figure; you might think them more modest even than a young bride in the bridal chamber.¹ When they have taken their place at a public meal, you must be content if you can get an answer to a question.

Such was the care that he bestowed on the growing lads.

IV. For those who had reached the prime of life he showed by far the deepest solicitude. For he believed that if these were of the right stamp they must exercise a powerful influence for good on the state. He saw that where the spirit of rivalry² is strongest among the people, there the choruses are most worth hearing and the athletic contests afford the finest spectacle. He believed, therefore, that if he could match the young men together in a strife of valour, they too would reach a high level of manly excellence.³ I will proceed to explain, therefore, how he instituted matches between the young men.

The Ephors, then, pick out three of the very best³ among them. These three are called Commanders of the Guard. Each of them enrolls a hundred others, stating his reasons for preferring one and rejecting another. The result is that those who fail to win⁴ the honour are at war both with those who sent them away and with their successful rivals; and they are on the watch for any lapse from the code of honour.

Here then you find that kind of strife that is⁵

* *Cyropaedia*, vii. ii. 26.

πολιτικωτάτη ἔρις, ἐν ᾧ ἀποδέδεικται μὲν ἂ δεῖ ποιεῖν τὸν ἀγαθόν, χωρὶς δ' ἑκάτεροι ἀσκοῦσιν, ὅπως ἀεὶ κράτιστοι ἔσονται, ἐὰν δέ τι δέη, καθ' 6 ἕνα ἀρήξουσι τῇ πόλει παντὶ σθένει. ἀνάγκη δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ εὐεξίας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. καὶ γὰρ πυκτεύουσι διὰ τὴν ἔριν ὃπου ἀν συμβάλωσι διαλύειν μέντοι τοὺς μαχομένους πᾶς ὁ παραγενόμενος κύριος. ἦν δέ τις ἀπειθῆ τῷ διαλύοντι, ἄγει αὐτὸν ὁ παιδονόμος ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους· οἱ δὲ ζημιοῦσι μεγαλείως, καθιστάναι βουλόμενοι εἰς τὸ μήποτε ὄργην τοῦ μὴ πείθεσθαι τοῖς νόμοις κρατῆσαι.

7 Τοῖς γε μὴν τὴν ἡβητικὴν ἥλικίαν πεπερακόσιν, ἐξ ὧν ἥδη καὶ αἱ μέγισται ἀρχαὶ καθίστανται, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι "Ελληνες ἀφελόντες αὐτῶν τὸ ἴσχύος ἔτι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι στρατεύεσθαι ὅμως αὐτοῖς ἐπιτάπτουσιν, ὁ δὲ Λυκοῦργος τοῖς τηλεκούτοις νόμιμον ἐποίησε κάλλιστον εἶναι τὸ θηράν, εἰ μή τι δημόσιον κωλύοι, ὅπως δύναιντο καὶ οὗτοι μηδὲν ἥττον τῶν ἡβώντων στρατιωτικὸς πόνους ὑποφέρειν.

V. ¹Α μὲν οὖν ἑκάστη ἥλικία ἐνομοθέτησεν ὁ Λυκοῦργος ἐπιτηδεύματα, σχεδὸν εἴρηται² οἷαν δὲ καὶ πᾶσι δίαιταιν κατεσκεύασε, νῦν πειράσομαι διηγεῖσθαι.

2 Λυκοῦργος τοίνυν παραλαβὼν τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας ὡσπερ τοὺς ἄλλους "Ελληνας οἴκοι σκηνοῦντας, γνοὺς ἐν τούτοις πλεῖστα ῥᾳδιουργεῖσθαι εἰς τὸ φανερὸν ἔξήγαγε τὰ συσκήνια, οὕτως ἡγούμενος

¹ Horsemanship, ii. 1.

² Lit. "moved the Sykamia out into the open." See Introduction III

dearest to the gods, and in the highest sense political—the strife that sets the standard of a brave man's conduct; and in which either party exerts itself to the end that it may never fall below its best, and that, when the time comes, every member of it may support the state with all his might.¹ And they are bound, too, to keep themselves fit, for one effect of the strife is that they spar whenever they meet, but anyone present has a right to part the combatants. If anyone refuses to obey the mediator the Warden takes him to the Ephors, and they fine him heavily, in order to make him realize that he must never yield to a sudden impulse to disobey the laws.

To come to those who have passed the time of youth, and are now eligible to hold the great offices of state. While absolving these from the duty of bestowing further attention on their bodily strength, the other Greeks require them to continue serving in the army. But Lycurgus established the principle that for citizens of that age, hunting was the noblest occupation, except when some public duty prevented, in order that they might be able to stand the fatigues of soldiering as well as the younger men.

V I have given a fairly complete account of the institutions of Lycurgus so far as they apply to the successive stages of life. I will now try to describe the system that he established for all alike.

Lycurgus found the Spartans boarding at home² like the other Greeks, and came to the conclusion that the custom was responsible for a great deal of misconduct. He therefore established the public messes outside in the open,² thinking that this

ηκιστ' ἀν παραβαίνεσθαι τὰ προστατόμενα.
 3 καὶ σῖτόν γε¹ ἔταξεν αὐτοῖς, ὡς μήτε ὑπερπληροῦσθαι μῆτε ἐνδεεῖς γίγνεσθαι. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παράλογα γίγνεται ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγρευομένων οἱ δὲ πλούσιοι ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ἄρτον ἀγτιπαραβάλλουσιν ὥστε οὗτε ἔρημός ποτε ἡ τράπεζα βρινθῶν γίγνεται, ἔστ' ἀν διασκηνώσιν, οὗτε πολυδάπανος.
 4 καὶ μὴν τοῦ πότου ἀποπαύσας τὰς² ἀιγκαίας πόσεις, αὖ σφάλλουσι μὲν σώματα, σφιλλουσι δὲ γνώμας, ἐφῆκεν ὅπότε διψάη ἔκαστος πίνειν, οὕτω νομίζων ἀβλαβέστατόν τε καὶ ἥδιστον ποτὸν γίγνεσθαι.

Οὕτω γε μὴν συσκηνούντων πῶς ἀν τις ἡ ὑπὸ λιχνείας ἡ οἰνοφλυγίας ἡ αὐτὸν ἡ οἶκον διαφθείρειε; καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ὡς τὸ πολὺ οἱ ἡλικες ἀλλήλοις σύνεισι, μεθ' ὧντερ καὶ ἐλαχίστη αἰδὼς παραγίγνεται· ὁ δὲ Λυκοῦργος ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ ἀνέμιξε παιδεύεσθαι τὰ πολλὰ τοὺς νεωτέρους ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν γεραιτέρων ἐμπειρίας.
 5 καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐπιχώριον ἐν τοῖς φιλιτίοις λέγεσθαι ὅ τι ἀν καλῶς τις ἐν τῇ πόλει ποιήσῃ· ὥστ' ἔκεινη ἡκιστα μὲν ὕβριν, ἡκιστα δὲ παροινίαν, ἡκιστα
 7 δὲ αἰσχρουργίαν καὶ αἰσχρολογίαν ἐγγίγνεσθαι. ἀγαθά γε μὴν ἀπεργάζεται καὶ τάδε ἡ ἔξω σιτησις· περιπατεῖν τε γὰρ ἀναγκάζονται ἐν τῇ οἴκαδε ἀφόδῳ καὶ μὴν τὸ ὑπὸ οἴνου μὴ σφάλλεσθαι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, εἰδότες, ὅτι οὐκ ἔνθαπερ

¹ γε Stephanus: τε S. with the MSS.

² τὰς Madvig: τὰς οὐκ S. with the MSS.

¹ At the public meals each had his own cup: there was no passing of cups along as at Athens and elsewhere. Critias in Athenaeus, x. 432 D and xl. 463 E.

would reduce disregard of orders to a minimum. The amount of food he allowed was just enough to prevent them from getting either too much or too little to eat. But many extras are supplied from the spoils of the chase, and for these rich men sometimes substitute wheaten bread. Consequently the board is never bare until the company breaks up, and never extravagantly furnished. Another of his reforms was the abolition of compulsory drinking,¹ which is the undoing alike of body of mind. But he allowed everyone to drink when he was thirsty, believing that drink is then most harmless and most welcome.

Now what opportunity did these public messes give a man to ruin himself or his estate by gluttony or wine bibbing? Note that in other states the company usually consists of men of the same age, where modesty is apt to be conspicuous by its absence from the board. But Lycurgus introduced mixed companies² at Sparta, so that the experience of the elders might contribute largely to the education of the juniors. In point of fact, by the custom of the country the conversation at the public meals turns on the great deeds wrought in the state, and so there is little room for insolence or drunken uproar, for unseemly conduct or indecent talk. And the system of feeding in the open has other good results. They must needs walk home after the meal, and, of course, must take good care not to stumble under the influence of drink (for they know that they will not

¹ Something appears to be lost after *ἀπολέγει*. Schneidler suggested *ἀπολέγει τὰς τάξεις τούς*, 'mixed the ages as they.'

έξει-τοι την καπνίσμε. οὐτοί καὶ τοῖς μέρην ὅτα ἐδέ, οὐ
χρυστέον· οἵτις γάρ ἴσπος φανοῖ τὸν δὲ διμήροντον
ἔξεστι πορείται.

B Καταμαθών γε μὴν ὁ Λικοῦργος καὶ ὅτι ἀπὸ
τῶν αἰτῶν σῖ-ων οἱ μὲν διαπονοί μετοι εἰχούσι τε
καὶ εἰσπρεοὶ καὶ εἴρωστοι εἰσιν, οἱ δὲ ἄπονοι
τεφισημένοι τε καὶ πισχυτὲς καὶ ἀσθενεῖς ἀνα-
φύονται, οἵτε τοῖτον ἡμέλησεν. οὐλλί οὐνάν,
ὅτι καὶ ὅταν πάτες τις τῷ ἑπιτοῦ γνώμῃ φιλο-
τοι γ, ἀρκοίντως τὸ σῶμα ἔχων ἀναφαίνεται.
ἐ-έταξε τὸν μὲν πρεσβύτατον ἐν τῷ γημασίῳ
ἔκαστῳ¹ ἐ-ιμελεῖσθαι ὡς μὴ τόνοντες αὐτοῖς²
οἱ ἀλάττους τῶν σιτίων γίγνεσθαι. καὶ ἐμοὶ μὲν
οὐδὲν ἐν τούτῳ σφαλῆσαι δοκεῖ. οὐκ ἀν οὐρ
ραδίως γέ τις εὔροι Σ-αρτιατῶν οὔτε ὕγιεινο-
τέρους οὔτε τοῖς σώμασι χρησιμωτέρους· ομοίως
γάρ ἀ-ό τε τῶν σκελῶν καὶ ἀπὸ χειρῶν καὶ ἀπὸ
τραχῆλου γυμνι ἀζοιται.

VII. Σιαγτία γε μὴν ἔγινο καὶ τάδε τοῖς
τλείστοις ἐν μὲν γάρ ταις ἀλλαις τόλεσι τῶν
ἑαυτοῦ ἔκαστος καὶ ταΐδων καὶ οἰκετῶν καὶ
Χρημάτων ἀρχουσι. ὁ δὲ Λυκοῦργος κατα-
σκευάσαι βουλόμενος, ὡς ἀν μηδὲν βλάττοιτες
ἀπολαύοιεν τι οἱ πολῖται ἀλληγλων ἀγαθόν, ἐποί-
ησε παΐδων ἔκαστον ὁμοίως τῶν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν
2 ἀλλοτρίων ἀρχειν. ὅταν δέ τις εἰδῇ, ὅτι οὗτοι
πατέρες εἰσὶ τῶν παΐδων, ὡν αὐτὸς ἀρχει, ἀλλαγκη
οὕτως ἀρχειν, ὥσπερ ἀν καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἀρχεσθαι
βουλοιτο ἦν δέ τις παῖς ποτε πληγὰς λαβὼν
ὑπ' ἄλλου κατείπη πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, αἰσχρόν

¹ ἔκαστψ MSS : S reads ἔκαστων with Hermann

stay on at the table); and they must do in the dark what they do in the day. Indeed, those who are still in the army are not even allowed a torch to guide them

Lycurgus had also observed the effects of the same rations on the hard worker and the idler, that the former has a fresh colour, firm flesh and plenty of vigour, while the latter looks puffy, ugly and weak. He saw the importance of this, and reflecting that even a man who works hard of his own will because it is his duty to do so, looks in pretty good condition, he required the senior for the time being in every gymnasium to take care that the tasks set should be not too small for the rations allowed. And I think that in this matter too he succeeded. So it would not be easy to find healthier or handier men than the Spartans. For their exercises train the legs, arms and neck equally.

VI. In the following respects, again, his institutions differ from the ordinary type. In most states every man has control of his own children, servants and goods. Lycurgus wanted to secure that the citizens should get some advantage from one another without doing any harm. He therefore gave every father authority over other men's children as well as over his own. When a man knows that fathers have this power, he is bound to rule the children over whom he exercises authority as he would wish his own to be ruled.¹ If a boy tells his own father when he has been whipped by another father, it is

¹ The text of this sentence is open to suspicion. Other words can hardly be sound.

* The text as altered by Hug, where it is highly probable the MSS. have a *ut* more correct *dilectos*, and is merely omitted, but this is not satisfactory.

έστι μὴ οὐκ ἄλλας πληγὰς ἐμβάλλειν τῷ νίεῖ.
οὗτῳ πιστεύουσιν ἄλλήλοις μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν προσ-
τάττειν τοῖς παισίν.

3 Ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ οἰκέταις, εἴ τις δεηθείη, χρῆσθαι
καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις. καὶ κυνῶν δὲ θηρευτικῶν
συνῆψε κοινωνίαν· ὥστε οἱ μὲν δεόμενοι παρακα-
λοῦσιν ἐπὶ θήραν, ὁ δὲ μὴ αὐτὸς σχολάξων ἡδέως
ἐκπέμπει. καὶ ἵπποις δὲ ὥσαύτως χρῶνται ὁ
γὰρ ἀσθενήσας ἡ δεηθεὶς ὀχήματος ἡ ταχύ ποι-
θουληθεῖς ἀφικέσθαι, ἦν που ἵδη ἵππουν ὅντα,
λαβὼν καὶ χρησάμενος καλῶς ἀποκαθίστησιν.

4 Οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἔκεινό γε παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰθισ-
μένουν ἐποίησεν ἐπιτηδεύεσθαι. ὅπου γὰρ ἀν ὑπὸ²
θήρας ὀψισθέντες δεηθῶσι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ἦν μὴ
συνεσκευασμένοι τύχωσι, καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἔθηκε τοὺς
μὲν πεταμένους καταλείπειν τὰ πεποιημένα, τοὺς
δὲ δεομένους ἀνοίξαντας τὰ σήμαντρα, λαβόντας
ὅσων ἀν δέωνται, σημηναμένους καταλιπεῖν. τοι-
γαροῦν οὕτως μεταδιδόντες ἄλλήλοις καὶ οἱ τὰ
μικρὰ ἔχοντες μετέχουσι πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ
χώρᾳ, ὅπόταν τινὸς δεηθῶσιν.

VII. Ἐναντία γε μὴν καὶ τάδε τοῖς ἄλλοις
“Ελλησι κατέστησεν ὁ Λυκοῦργος ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ
νόμιμα. ἐν μὲν γὰρ δήπου ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι
πάντες χρηματίζονται ὅσον δύνανται· ὁ μὲν γὰρ
γεωργεῖ, ὁ δὲ ναυκληρεῖ, ὁ δὲ ἐμπορεύεται, οἱ δὲ
2 καὶ ἀπὸ τεχνῶν τρέφονται· ἐν δὲ τῇ Σπάρτῃ ὁ
Λυκοῦργος τοῖς ἐλευθέροις τῶν μὲν ἀμφὶ χρη-
ματισμὸν ἀπεῖπε μηδενὸς ἀπτεσθαι, ὅσα δὲ ἐλευ-

* I.e. so much of it as remained over.

a disgrace if the parent does not give his son another whipping. So completely do they trust one another not to give any improper orders to the children

He also gave the power of using other men's servants in case of necessity, and made sporting dogs common property to this extent, that any who want them invite their master, and if he is engaged himself he is glad to send the hounds. A similar plan of borrowing is applied to horses also, thus a man who falls ill or wants a carriage or wishes to get to some place quickly, if he sees a horse anywhere, takes and uses it carefully and duly restores it.

There is yet another among the customs instituted by him which is not found in other communities. It was intended to meet the needs of parties belated in the hunting field with nothing ready to eat. He made a rule that those who had plenty should leave behind the prepared food,¹ and that those who needed food should break the seals, take as much as they wanted, seal up the rest and leave it behind. The result of this method of going shares with one another is that even those who have but little receive a share of all that the country yields whenever they want anything.

VII Nor does this exhaust the list of the customs established by Lycurgus at Sparta that are contrary to those of the other Greeks. In other states, I suppose, all men make as much money as they can. One is a farmer, another a ship owner, another a merchant, and others live by different handicrafts. But at Sparta Lycurgus forbade freeborn citizens to have anything to do with business affairs. He insisted

θερλαν ταῖς πόλεσι παρασκευάζει, ταῦτα ἔταξε
 3 μονα ἐργα αὐτῶν ιομίζειν. καὶ γὰρ δὴ τί πλούτος
 ἐκεῖ γε σπουδαστὸς, ἵστα μὲν φέρειν εἰς τὰ
 ἐπιτήδεια, ὁμοίως δὲ διαιτᾶσθαι τιχας ἐποίησε
 μὴ ἡδυπαθείας ἐνεκα χρηματίτων ὄρέγεσθαι; ἀλλὰ
 μὴν οὐδὲ ἴματίων γε ἐνεκα χρηματιστέον οὐ γὰρ
 ἐσθῆτος πολυτελεῖσ, ἀλλὰ σώματος εἰεξία κοσ-
 4 μοῦται. οὐδὲ μὴν τοῦ γε εἰς τοὺς συσκήνους¹
 ἔχειν δαπανᾶν χρήματα αἴθροιστέον, ἐπεὶ τὸ τῷ
 σώματι ποιοῦντα ὠφελεῖν τοὺς συνόντας εὔδοξο-
 τερον ἐποίησεν ἢ τὸ δαπανῶντα,² ἐπιδείξας τὸ
 μὲν ψυχῆς, τὸ δὲ πλούτου ἐργον.

5 Τό γε μὴν ἐξ ἀδίκων χρηματίζεσθαι καὶ ἐν
 τοῖς τοιούτοις διεκώλυσε. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ νό-
 μισμα τοιοῦτον κατεστήσατο, ὃ δεκάμυρων³ μόρου
 ἀν εἰς οἰκίαν εἰσελθὸν οὔτε δεσπότας οὔτε οἰκέτας
 λάθοι· καὶ γὰρ χώρας μεγάλης καὶ ἀμάξης ἀγω-
 6 γῆς δέοιτ' ἄν. χρυσίον γε μὴν καὶ ἀργύριον
 ἐρευνᾶται, καὶ ἄν τί που φανῆ, ὃ ἔχων ζημιοῦται.
 τί οὖν ἀν ἐκεῖ χρηματισμὸς σπουδάζοιτο, ἔνθα ἡ
 κτῆσις πλείους λύπας ἢ ἡ χρῆσις εὐφροσύνας
 παρέχει;

VIII. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅτι μὲν ἐν Σπάρτῃ μάλιστα
 πείθονται ταῖς ἀρχαῖς τε καὶ τοῖς νόμοις, ἵσμεν
 ἀπαντεῖς. ἐγὼ μέντοι οὐδὲ ἐγχειρῆσαι οἷμαι πρό-
 τερον τὸν Λυκοῦργον ταυτην τὴν εὐταξίαν⁴

¹ ἐνεκα, which S. adds after συσκήνους with the MSS., was removed by Weiske.

² δαπανῶντα Morus: δαπανῶντα S. with the MSS.

³ δεκάμυρων Dindorf: δέκα μυῶν S. with the MSS.

⁴ εὐταξίαν Dindorf: εὐεξίαν S. with the MSS.

on their regarding as their own concern only those activities that make for civic freedom. Indeed, 3 how should wealth be a serious object there, when he insisted on equal contributions to the food supply and on the same standard of living for all, and thus cut off the attraction of money for indulgence's sake? Why, there is not even any need of money to spend on cloaks for their adornment is due not to the price of their clothes, but to the excellent condition of their bodies. Nor yet is there any reason for 4 amassing money in order to spend it on one's messmates, for he made it more respectable to help one's fellows by toiling with the body than by spending money,¹ pointing out that toil is an employment of the soul, spending an employment of wealth.

By other enactments he rendered it impossible to 5 make money in unfair ways. In the first place the system of coinage that he established was of such a kind that even a sum of ten minae² could not be brought into a house without the master and the servants being aware of it the money would fill a large space and need a wagon to draw it. Moreover, 6 there is a right of search for gold and silver, and, in the event of discovery, the possessor is fined. Why, then, should money making be a preoccupation in a state where the pains of its possession are more than the pleasures of its enjoyment?

VIII To continue we all know that obedience to the magistrates and the laws is found in the highest degree in Sparta. For my part, however, I think that Lycurgus did not so much as attempt

* Some £40

καθιστάναι, πρὸς ὁμογνώμονας ἐποιήσατο τοὺς
 2 κρατίστους τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει. τεκμαίρομαι δὲ
 ταῦτα, ὅτι ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν οἱ
 δυνατώτεροι οὐδὲ βούλοιται δοκεῖν τὰς ἀρχὰς
 φοβεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ νομίζουσι τοῦτο ἀνελεύθερον
 εἶναι. ἐν δὲ τῇ Σπάρτη οἱ κράτιστοι καὶ ὑπέρ-
 χονται μάλιστα τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τῷ ταπεινῷ εἶναι
 μεγαλύνονται καὶ τῷ ὅταν καλῶνται τρέχοντες
 ἀλλὰ μὴ βαδίζοντες ὑπακούειν, νομίζοντες, ἵν
 αὐτοὶ κατάρχωσι τοῦ σφόδρα πείθεσθαι, ἔψεσθαι
 καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους· ὅπερ καὶ γεγένηται.

3 Εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ τὴν τῆς ἔφορείας δύναμιν τοὺς
 αὐτοὺς τούτους συγκατασκευάσαι, ἐπείπερ ἔγρω-
 σαν τὸ πείθεσθαι μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν εἶναι καὶ ἐν
 πόλει καὶ ἐν στρατιᾷ καὶ ἐν οἴκῳ· ὅσῳ γάρ μεῖζῳ
 δύναμιν ἔχοι¹ ἡ ἀρχή, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον ἡγή-
 σαντο αὐτὴν καὶ καταπλήξειν τοὺς πολέτας τοῦ
 4 ὑπακούειν. ἔφοροι οὖν ἴκανοὶ μέν εἰσι ζημιοῦν
 διν ἀν βούλωνται, κύριοι δὲ ἐκπράττειν παραχρῆμα,
 κύριοι δὲ καὶ ἀρχοντας μεταξὺ καταπαῦσαι² καὶ
 εἰρξαί γε καὶ περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς εἰς ἀγῶνα κατα-
 στῆσαι. τοσαύτην δὲ ἔχοντες δύναμιν οὐχ
 ὥσπερ αἱ ἄλλαι πόλεις ἔώσι τοὺς αἱρεθέντας ἀεὶ³
 ἀρχειν τὸ ἔτος ὅπως ἀν βούλωνται, ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ
 οἱ τύραννοι καὶ οἱ ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν
 ἐπιστάται, ἵν τινα αἰσθάνωνται παρανομοῦντά
 τι, εὐθὺς παραχρῆμα κολάζουσι.

5 Πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ἄλλων δυτῶν μηχανημάτων
 καλῶν τῷ Λυκούργῳ εἰς τὸ πείθεσθαι τοῖς νόμοις

¹ Ιχοι Diindorf: Ιχει S. with MSS

² καταπαῦσαι Stobaeus: καὶ καταπαῦσαι S. with the MSS.

to introduce this habit of discipline until he had secured agreement among the most important men in the state I base my inference on the following 2 facts In other states the most powerful citizens do not even wish it to be thought that they fear the magistrates they believe such fear to be a badge of slavery But at Sparta the most important men show the utmost deference to the magistrates they pride themselves on their humility, on running instead of walking to answer any call, in the belief that, if they lead, the rest will follow along the path of eager obedience And so it has proved

It is probable also that these same citizens helped 3 to set up the office of Ephor, having come to the conclusion that obedience is a very great blessing whether in a state or an army or a household For they thought that the greater the power of these magistrates the more they would impress the minds of the citizens¹ Accordingly, the Ephors are com 4 petent to fine whom they choose, and have authority to enact immediate payment they have authority also to deprive the magistrates of office, and even to imprison and prefer a capital charge against them Possessing such wide power they do not, like other states, leave persons elected to office to rule as they like throughout the year, but in common with despots and the presidents of the games, they no sooner see anyone breaking the law than they punish the offender

Among many excellent plans contrived by Lycur 5 gus for encouraging willing obedience to the laws

¹ τοῦ οὐακούειν is omitted in the translation It can hardly be right, Schneider removed it, and Cobet proposed *εἰς τὸ οὐακοῦειν*, "so as to make them obedient."

έθέλειν τοὺς πολίτας, ἐν τοῖς καλλίστοις καὶ τοῦτό μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, ὅτι οὐ πρότερον ἀπέδωκε τῷ πλήθει τοὺς νόμους, πρὶν ἐλθῶν σὺν τοῖς κρατίστοις εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐπήρετο τὸν θεόν, εἰ λῶν καὶ ἄμεινον εἴη τῇ Σπάρτῃ πειθομένη οἷς αὐτὸς ἔθηκε νόμοις. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνεῖδε τῷ παντὶ ἄμεινον εἶναι, τότε ἀπέδωκεν, οὐ μόνον ἀνομον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνόσιον θεὶς τὸ πυθοχρήστοις νόμοις μὴ πείθεσθαι.

IX. Ἀξιον δὲ τοῦ Λυκούργου καὶ τόδε ἀγασθῆναι, τὸ κατεργάσασθαι ἐν τῇ πόλει αἱρετώτερον εἶναι τὸν καλὸν θάνατον ἀντὶ τοῦ αἰσχροῦ βίου· καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐπισκοπῶν τις ἀν εὗροι μείους ἀποθυήσκοντας τούτων ἡ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ φοβεροῦ 2 ἀποχωρεῖν αἴρουμένων. ὡς τάληθες εἰπεῖν καὶ ἐπεται τῇ ἀρετῇ τὸ¹ σώζεσθαι εἰς τὸν πλείω χρόνον μᾶλλον ἡ τῇ κακίᾳ· καὶ γὰρ ῥῶν καὶ ἡδίων καὶ εὐπορωτέρα καὶ ἴσχυροτέρα. δῆλον δὲ ὅτι καὶ εὐκλεία μᾶλιστα ἐπεται τῇ ἀρετῇ· καὶ γὰρ συμμαχεῖν πως πάντες τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς βούλονται.

3 Ἡι μέντοι ὥστε ταῦτα γίγνεσθαι ἐμηχανήσατο, καὶ τοῦτο καλὸν μὴ παραλιπεῖν. ἐκεῖνος τοίνυν σαφῶς παρεσκεύασε τοῖς μὲν ἀγαθοῖς εὐδαιμονίαν, 4 τοῖς δὲ κακοῖς κακοδαιμονίαν. ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ὅπόταν τις κακὸς γένηται, ἐπίκλησιν μόνον ἔχει κακὸς εἶναι, ἀγοράζει δὲ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ὁ κακὸς τάγαθῷ καὶ κάθηται καὶ γυμνάζεται, ἐὰν βούληται· ἐν δὲ τῇ Λακεδαίμονι πᾶς

¹ τὸ added by Morus: S. omits with the MSS.

¹ Herodotus I. 65.

among the citizens, I think one of the most excellent was this: before delivering his laws to the people he paid a visit to Delphi,¹ accompanied by the most important citizens, and inquired of the god whether it was desirable and better for Sparta that she should obey the laws that he himself had framed. Only when the god answered that it was better in every way did he deliver them, after enjoining that to refuse obedience to laws given by the Pythian god was not only unlawful, but wicked.

IX The following achievement of Lycurgus, again, deserves admiration. He caused his people to choose an honourable death in preference to a disgraceful life. And, in fact, one would find on consideration that they actually lose a smaller proportion of their men than those who prefer to retire from the danger zone. To tell the truth, escape² from premature death more generally goes with valour than with cowardice, for valour is actually easier and pleasanter and more resourceful and mightier.² And obviously glory adheres to the side of valour, for all men want to ally themselves somehow with the brave.

However, it is proper not to pass over the means³ by which he contrived to bring about this result. Clearly, what he did was to ensure that the brave should have happiness, and the coward misery. For⁴ in other states when a man proves a coward, the only consequence is that he is called a coward. He goes to the same market as the brave man, sits beside him, attends the same gymnasium, if he chooses. But in Lacedaemon everyone would be ashamed to

¹ The sentiment is taken from Tyrtaeus

μὲν ἄν τις αἰσχυνθείη τὸν κακὸν σύσκηνον παραλαβεῖν, πᾶς δ' ἄν ἐν παλαιόσματι συγγυμναστήν.
 5 πολλάκις δ' ὁ τοιοῦτος καὶ διαιρουμένων τοὺς ἀντισφαιριοῦντας ἀχώριστος περιγίγνεται καὶ ἐν χοροῖς δ' εἰς τὰς ἐπονειδίστους χώρας ἀπελαύνεται, καὶ μὴν ἐν ὁδοῖς παραχωρητέον αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν θάκοις καὶ τοῖς νεωτέροις ὑπαναστατέον, καὶ τὰς μὲν προσηκούσας κόρας οἴκοι θρηπτέον καὶ ταύταις τῆς ἀνανδρείας¹ αἰτίαν ὑφεκτέον, γυναικὸς δὲ κενὴν ἔστιαν περιοπτέον² καὶ ἅμα τούτου ζημίαν ἀποτιστέον, λιπαρὸν δὲ οὐ πλανητέον οὐδὲ μιμητέον τοὺς ἀνεγκλήτους, ή πληγὰς ὑπὸ 6 τῶν ἀμεινόνων ληπτέον. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ τοιαύτης τοῖς κακοῖς ἀτιμίας ἐπικειμένης οὐδὲν θαυμάζω τὸ προαιρεῖσθαι ἐκεῖ θάνατον ἀντὶ τοῦ οὗτος ἀτίμου τε καὶ ἐπονειδίστου βίου.

X. Καλῶς δέ μοι δοκεῖ ὁ Δυκοῦργος νομοθετῆσαι καὶ ή μέχρι γήρως ἀσκοῦτ' ἄν ἀρετή. ἐπὶ γὰρ τῷ τέρματι τοῦ βίου τὴν κρίσιν τῆς γεροτίας προσθεὶς ἐποίησε μηδὲ ἐν τῷ γήρᾳ ἀμελεῖσθαι τὴν καλοκάγαθίαν. ἀξιάγαστον δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἐπικουρῆσαι τῷ τῶν ἀγαθῶν γήρᾳ· θεὶς γὰρ τοὺς γέροντας κυρίους τοῦ περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγῶνος διεπραξεν ἐντιμότερον εἶται τὸ γήρας τῆς 3 τῶν ἀκμαζόντων ῥώμης. εἰκότας δέ τοι καὶ σπουδάζεται οὗτος ὁ ἀγῶν μάλιστα τῶν ἀνθρώπων. καλοὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ οἱ γυμνικοί· ἀλλ' οὗτοι μὲν σωμάτων εἰσίν· ὁ δὲ περὶ τῆς γεροντίας ἀγῶν ψυχῶν ἀγαθῶν κρίσιν παρέχει. δσῳ οὖν κρείττων ψυχὴ σώματος, τοσούτῳ καὶ οἱ ἀγῶνες

¹ ἀνθεπλα S. with the better MSS.

have a coward with him at the mess or to be matched with him in a wrestling bout. Often when sides are 5 picked for a game of ball he is the odd man left out: in the chorus he is banished to the ignominious place, in the streets he is bound to make way; when he occupies a seat he must needs give it up, even to a junior; he must support his spinster relatives at home and must explain to them why they are old maids: he must make the best of a fireside without a wife, and yet pay forfeit for that: he may not stroll about with a cheerful countenance, nor behave as though he were a man of unsullied fame, or else he must submit to be beaten by his betters. Small 6 wonder, I think, that where such a load of dishonour is laid on the coward, death seems preferable to a life so dishonoured, so ignominious.

X. The law by which Lycurgus encouraged the practice of virtue up to old age is another excellent measure in my opinion. By requiring men to face the ordeal of election to the Council of Elders near the end of life, he prevented neglect of high principles even in old age. Worthy of admiration also is the protection that he afforded to the old age of good men. For the enactment by which he made the Elders judges in the contests with the young, to be held in hood. At 7 in the world this should excite the greatest zeal. For noble as are the contests in the Olympic, they are merely tests of bodily power. But the contest for the Council judges coul^d whether they fought As much then, as the soul surpasses the body, so

* *represents Diodorus ab apposita with the 1512*

οἱ τῶν ψυχῶν ἡ οἱ τῶν σωμάτων ἀξιοσπουδαστότεροι.

4 Τόδε γε μὴν τοῦ Λυκούργου πῶς οὐ μεγάλως ἄξιον ἀγασθῆναι; διὸ ἐπειδὴ κατέμαθεν, ὅτι ὅπου¹ οἱ βουλόμενοι ἐπιμελοῦνται² τῆς ἀρετῆς οὐχ ἵκανοί εἴσι τὰς πατρίδας αὔξειν, ἐκεῖνος ἐν τῇ Σπάρτη ἡνάγκασε δημοσίᾳ πάντας πάσας ἀσκεῖν τὰς ἀρετάς. ὥσπερ οὖν ἴδιωται ἴδιωτῶν διαφέρουσιν ἀρετῆς οἱ ἀσκοῦντες τῶν ἀμελούντων, οὗτοις καὶ ἡ Σπάρτη εἰκότως πασῶν τῶν πόλεων ἀρετῆς διαφέρει, μόνη δημοσίᾳ ἐπιτηδεύουσα τὴν καλοκάγαθίαν. οὐ γὰρ κάκεῖνο καλόν, τὸ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων κολαζουσῶν, ἦν τίς τι ἔτερος ἔτερον ἀδικῆ, ἐκεῖνον ζημίας μὴ ἐλάττους ἐπιθεῖναι, εἰ τις φανερὸς εἴη ἀμελῶν τοῦ ὡς βέλτιστος εἶναι; ἐνόμιζε γάρ, ὡς ἕοικεν, ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν ἀνδραποδιζομένων τινὰς ἡ ἀποστερούντων τι ἡ κλεπτόντων τοὺς βλαπτομένους μόνον ἀδικεῖσθαι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν κακῶν καὶ ἀνάνδρων δλας τὰς πόλεις προδίδοσθαι. ὥστε εἰκότως ἔμουγε δοκεῖ τούτοις μεγίστας ζημίας ἐπιθεῖναι.

7 Ἐπέθηκε δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀνυπόστατον ἀνάγκην ἀσκεῖν ἀπασαν πολειτικὴν ἀρετήν. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ τὰ νόμιμα ἐκτελοῦσιν ὁμοίως ἀπασι τὴν πόλιν οἰκεῖαν ἐποίησε καὶ οὐδὲν ὑπελογίσατο οὔτε σωμάτων οὔτε χρημάτων ἀσθένειαν· εἰ δέ τις ἀποδειλεύσει τοῦ τὰ νόμιμα διαπονεῖσθαι, τοῦτον ἐκεῖνος ἀπέδειξε μηδὲ νομίζεσθαι ἔτι τῶν ὁμοίων εἶναι.

8 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅτι μὲν παλαιότατοι οὗτοι οἱ νόμοι

¹ Στις Εργα Στρατ. B. with Morus.

much more worthy are the contests of the soul to kindle zeal than those of the body.

Again, the following surely entitles the work of 4 Lycurgus to high admiration. He observed that where the cult of virtue is left to voluntary effort, the virtuous are not strong enough to increase the fame of their fatherland. So he compelled all men at Sparta to practise all the virtues in public life. And therefore, just as private individuals differ from one another in virtue according as they practise or neglect it, so Sparta, as a matter of course, surpasses all other states in virtue, because she alone makes a public duty of gentlemanly conduct. For 5 was not this too a noble rule of his, that whereas other states punish only for wrong done to one's neighbour, he inflicted penalties no less severe on any who openly neglected to live as good a life as possible? For he believed, it seems, that enslavement, fraud, robbery, are crimes that injure only the victims of them; but the wicked man and the coward are traitors to the whole body politic. And so he had good reason, I think, for visiting their offences with the heaviest penalties.

And he laid on the people the whole virtue of a citizen.
For to all who satisfied the requirements he gave equal rights of citizenship, without regard to bodily infirmity or want of money. But the coward who shrank from the task of observing the rules of his code he caused to be no more reckoned among the peers.

Now that these laws are of high antiquity there 8

* δεμολογία Haase: Ιππολείον. S. with the MSS.

είσι, σαφές· ὃ γὰρ Λυκοῦργος κατὰ τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας λέγεται γενέσθαι οὗτο δὲ παλαιὸν ὅντες ἔτι καὶ νῦν τοῖς ἄλλοις καιρότατοί εἰσι· καὶ γὰρ τὸ πάντων θαυμαστότατον ἐπαινοῦσι μὲν πάντες τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπιτηδεύματα, μιμεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτὰ οὐδεμία πόλις ἔθέλει.

XI. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ κοινὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ· εἰ δέ τις βούλεται καταμαθεῖν, ὃ τι καὶ εἰς τὰς στρατείας βέλτιον τῶν ἄλλων ἐμηχανήσατο, ἔξεστι καὶ τούτων ἀκούειν.

2 Πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν οἱ ἔφοροι προκηρύγγουσι τὰ ἔτη, εἰς ἂ δεῖ στρατεύεσθαι καὶ ἵππεῦσι καὶ ὄπλίταις, ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ τοῖς χειροτέχναις· ὥστε ὅσοισπερ ἐπὶ πόλεως χρῶνται ἄνθρωποι, πάντων τούτων καὶ ἐπὶ στρατιᾶς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι εὐποροῦσι· καὶ ὅσα δὲ ὀργάνων ἡ στρατιὰ κοινῇ δεηθεῖη ἄν, ἀπάντων τὰ μὲν ἀμάξη προστέτακται παρέχειν, τὰ δὲ ὑποξυγίῳ· οὗτο γὰρ ἥκιστ’ ἄν τὸ ἐκλεῖπον διαλάθοι.

3 Εἴς γε μὴν τὸν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀγῶνα τοιάδ’ ἐμηχανήσατο, στολὴν μὲν ἔχειν φοινικίδα καὶ χαλκῆν ἀσπίδα, ταύτην νομίζων ἥκιστα μὲν γυναικείᾳ κοινωνεῖν, πολεμικωτάτην δ’ εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ τάχιστα λαμπρύνεται καὶ σχολαιότατα ῥυπαίνεται. ἐφῆκε δὲ καὶ κομᾶν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡβητικὴν ἡλικίαν, νομίζων οὗτο καὶ μείζους ἄν καὶ ἐλευθεριώτερους καὶ γοργοτέρους φαίνεσθαι.

4 Οὗτο γε μὴν κατεσκευασμένων μόρας μὲν διεῖλεν ἔξι καὶ ἵππέων καὶ ὄπλιτῶν. ἔκάστη δὲ

¹ The words καὶ χαλκῆν ἀσπίδα should probably come before καὶ γὰρ τάχιστα. There is also a suspicion that some words

can be no doubt · for Lycurgus is said to have lived in the days of the Heracleidæ Nevertheless, in spite of their antiquity, they are wholly strange to others even at this day Indeed, it is most astonishing that all men praise such institutions, but no state chooses to imitate them

XI The blessings that I have enumerated so far were shared by all alike in peace and in war But if anyone wishes to discover in what respect Lycurgus' organisation of the army on active service was better than other systems, here is the information that he seeks

The Ephors issue a proclamation stating the age 2 limit fixed for the levy, first for the cavalry and infantry, and then for the handcraftsmen Thus the Lacedaemonians are well supplied in the field with all things that are found useful in civil life All the implements that an army may require in common are ordered to be assembled, some in carts, some on baggage animals, thus anything missing is not at all likely to be overlooked

In the equipment that he devised for the troops 3 in battle he included a red cloak, because he believed this garment to have least resemblance to women's clothing and to be most suitable for war, and a brass shield, because it is very soon polished and tarnishes very slowly¹ He also permitted men who were past their first youth to wear long hair, believing that it would make them look taller, more dignified and more terrifying.

The men so equipped were divided into six 4 regiments of cavalry and infantry The officers of referring to other details of the equipment have dropped out.

μέτωποι παρ' ἀσπίδα καθίστασθαι, καὶ διὰ παρ-
τὸς οὗτως, ἔστ' ἀνὴρ φάλαγξ ἐναντία καταστῆ-
ην γε μὴν οὕτως ἔχόντων ἐκ τοῦ ὅπισθεν οἱ πολέ-
μοι ἐπιφαγῶσιν, ἐξελίττεται ἕκαστος ὁ στίχος,
ἴνα οἱ κράτιστοι ἐναντίοι ἀεὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ὥστε.
Θ οὗτι δὲ ὁ ἄρχων εὐώνυμος γίγνεται, οὐδὲ ἐν τούτῳ
μειονεκτεῖν ἡγοῦνται, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ πλεονεκ-
τεῖν. εἰ γάρ τινες κυκλοῦσθαι ἐπιχειροῦεν, οὐκ
ἀν κατὰ τὰ γυμνά, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰ ὠπλισμένα
περιβάλλοιεν ἄν. ήν δέ ποτε ἐνεκά τινος δοκῆ-
συμφέρειν τὸν ἡγεμόνα δεξιὸν κέρας ἔχειν, στρέ-
ψαντες τὸ ἄγημα ἐπὶ κέρας ἐξελίττουσι τὴν
φάλαγγα, ἔστ' ἀνὸ μὲν ἡγεμὼν δεξιὸς ἦ, ἡ δὲ
οὐρὰ εὐώνυμος γένηται. ήν δ' αὖ ἐκ τῶν δεξιῶν
πολεμίων τάξις ἐπιφαίνηται ἐπὶ κέρως πορευο-
μένων, οὐδὲν ἄλλο πραγματεύονται ἢ τὸν λόχον
ἕκαστον ὥσπερ τριήρη ἀντίπρωφρον τοῖς ἐναντίοις
στρέφουσι, καὶ οὕτως αὖ γίγνεται ὁ κατ' οὐρὰν
λόχος παρὰ δόρυ. ήν γε μὴν κατὰ τὰ εὐώνυμα
πολέμοι προσίσταιν, οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἐώσιν, ἀλλ' ἀπω-
θοῦσιν ἢ ἐναντίους ἀντιπάλοις τοὺς λόχους στρέ-
φουσι· καὶ οὕτως αὖ ὁ κατ' οὐρὰν λόχος παρ'
ἀσπίδα καθίσταται.

XII. Ἐρῶ δὲ καὶ ἣ στρατοπεδεύεσθαι ἐνόμισε
χρῆναι Λυκοῦργος.

Διὰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ τὰς γωνίας τοῦ τετραγώνου

¹ i.e. this was the regular plan, because each of two battle lines advancing to meet one another always tended to converge to the right. See Thucydides, v. 71.

second lieutenant to deploy into line to the left, and so throughout the column until the battle line stands facing the enemy. Or again, if the enemy appears in the rear while they are in this formation, each file counter marches in order that the best men may always be face to face with the enemy. True, the leader is then on the left, but instead of thinking this a disadvantage, they regard it as a positive advantage at times. For should the enemy attempt a flanking movement he would try to encircle them, not on the exposed but on the protected side.¹ If, however, it seems better for any reason that the leader should be on the right wing, the left wing wheels, and the army counter marches by ranks until the leader is on the right, and the rear of the column on the left. If, on the other hand, an enemy force appears on the right when they are marching in column, all that they have to do is to order each company to wheel to the right so as to front the enemy like a man of war, and thus again the company at the rear of the column is on the right. If again an enemy approaches on the left, they do not allow that either, but either push him back² or wheel their companies to the left to face him, and thus the rear of the column finds itself on the left.

XII I will now explain the method of encampment approved by Leurgus

Seeing that the angles of a square are a cless lie

* This can only mean that if the Lacedaemonians are in battle order the whole phalanx turns to the left to meet the attack while getting companies to the left will only be necessary when the army marching in column was threatened on the left. Just as when one of the two other runs forward it is almost certain that the other

ΧΡΗΜΑΤΙΟΝ

άχριστον είναι εἰς κίνδυνον ἀστραποπεῖσματον.
 εἰ μὴ ὄρος πιστολές εἴη η τείχος ή τοπαμὸν
 2 ὅπιστες ἔχοιεν. φυλακεῖς γε μὴν ἐποίησε
 μεθημεριὰς τὰς μὲν παρὰ -αὶ ὑπόλα εἰσα
 βλεποίσας οὐ γὰρ τολεμίουν ἔισκα ἀλλὰ φίλουν
 αἵται καθίστανται· τοὺς γε μὴν τολεμίουν
 3 ιππεῖς φιλάττουσιν ἀπὸ χωρίων ὡν ἀν ἐκ
 τολείστον τροορῷεν. εἰ δέ τις προσίσι¹ γύνεταιρ
 ἔξω τῆς φάλαγγος ἀπόμισεν ὑπὸ Σειριτῶν προ-
 φυλάττεοθαί· οὗτος δὲ τῇδη καὶ ὑπὸ ξένων οὐχ
 4 τύχωσιν² αὐτῶν τινες συμπαρόντες. τὸ δὲ
 ἔχοντας τὰ δόρατα μὲν περιέισται, εὖ καὶ τοῦτο
 δεῖ εἰδίαις δτε τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔιεκά ἔστιν οὐ περ
 καὶ τοὺς δαῦλους εἰργουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν δολῶν
 καὶ τοὺς ἐτλί τὰ ἀπαγκαῖα ἀπίστας οὐ δεῖ
 θαυμάζειν δτε οὔτε ἀλλήλων οὔτε τῶν δολῶν
 τλέον η ὅσον μὴ λυτεῖν ἀλλήλους ἀπέρχονται
 καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα ἀσφαλείας ἔιεκα ποιοῦσι.

5 Μεταστρατοπεδεύονταί γε μὴν πυκνὰ καὶ τοῦ
 σίνεσθαι τοὺς τολεμίους ἔιεκα καὶ τοῦ ὠφελεῖν
 τοὺς φίλους

Καὶ γυμνάζεσθαι δὲ προαγορεύεται ὑπὸ τοῦ
 νόμου ἀπασι Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἕωσπερ ἀν στρατεύ-
 ωνται· ὥστε μεγαλοπρεπεστέρους μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐφ'
 ἔαυτοῖς γίγνεσθαι, ἐλευθεριώτέρους δὲ τῶν ἀλλων
 φαίνεσθαι. δεῖ δὲ οὔτε περίπατον οὔτε δρόμον
 6 μάσσω ποιεῖσθαι η ὅσον ἀν η μόρα ἐφίκη, ὅπως
 μηδεὶς τῶν αὐτοῦ ὅπλων πόρρω γίγνηται, μετὰ
 δὲ τὰ γυμνάσια καθίζειν μὲν ὁ πρῶτος πολέ-

¹ προσίσι Madvig. προσίσι S. with the MSS. S places a comma after φάλαγγος.

introduced the circular form of camp, except where there was a secure hill or wall, or a river afforded protection in the rear. He caused sentries to be posted by day facing inwards along the place where the arms were kept, for the object of these is to keep an eye not on the enemy but on their friends. The enemy is watched by cavalry from positions that command the widest outlook. To meet the case of a hostile approach at night, he assigned the duty of acting as sentries outside the lines to the Sciritae. In these days the duty is shared by foreigners, if any happen to be present in the camp. The rule that patrols invariably carry their spears, has the same purpose, undoubtedly, as the exclusion of slaves from the place of arms. Nor is it surprising that sentries who withdraw for necessary purposes only go so far away from one another and from the arms as not to cause inconvenience. Safety is the first object of this rule also.

The camp is frequently shifted with the double object of annoying their enemies and of helping their friends.

Moreover the law requires all Lacedaemonians to practise gymnastics regularly throughout the campaign, and the result is that they take more pride in themselves and have a more dignified appearance than other men. Neither walk nor race course may exceed in length the space covered by the regiment, so that no one may get far away from his own arms. After the exercises the senior colonel gives the order by herald to sit down—this

³ οὐ τύχειον is added by Ruehl. S. reads αἴτην εἰ τίνει with Hermann.

μαρχος κηρύττει· ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο ὡσπερ ἐξέτασις· ἐκ τούτου δὲ ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι καὶ ταχὺ τὸν πρόσκοπον ὑπολύεσθαι· ἐκ τούτου δ' αὖ διατριβῇ καὶ ἀναπαύσεις πρὸ τῶν ἐσπεριγῶν γυμνασίων.

7 μετά γε μὴν ταῦτα δειπνοποιεῖσθαι κηρύττεται, καὶ ἐπειδὴν ἄσωσιν εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς οὓς ἀν κεκαλλιέρηκότες ὥστιν, ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων ἀναπαύεσθαι.

"Οτι δὲ πολλὰ γράφω, οὐ δεῖ θαυμάζειν· ἦκιστα γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίοις εὗροι ἂν τις παραλειμμένα ἐν τοῖς στρατιωτικοῖς ὅσα δεῖ ἐπιμελείας.

XIII. Διηγήσομαι δὲ καὶ ἣν ἐπὶ στρατιᾶς ὁ Λυκοῦργος βασιλεῖ δύραμιν καὶ τιμῆν παρεσκεύασε. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ φρουρᾶς τρέφει ἡ πόλις βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ· συσκηνοῦσι δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ πολέμαρχοι, δπως ἀεὶ συνόντες μᾶλλον καὶ κοινοθουλῶσιν, ἣν τι δέωνται· συσκηνοῦσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τρεῖς ἄνδρες τῶν ὁμοίων· οὗτοι τούτοις ἐπιμελοῦνται πάντων τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ὡς μηδεμίᾳ ἀσχολίᾳ ἢ αὐτοῖς τῶν πολεμικῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι.

2 Ἐπαναλήψομαι δέ, ὡς ἐξορμᾶται σὺν στρατιᾷ ὁ βασιλεύς. θύει μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον οἴκοι ὧν Διὸς ἀγιήτορε καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ· ἣν δὲ ἐνταῦθα καλλιερήσῃ, λαβὼν ὁ πυρφόρος πῦρ ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ προηγεῖται ἐπὶ τὰ ὅρια τῆς χώρας· ὁ δὲ 3 βασιλεὺς ἐκεῖ αὖ θύεται Διὸς καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς. ὅταν δὲ ἀμφοῖν τούτοιν τοῖν θεοῖν καλλιερηθῇ, τότε

¹ Or, if we read *οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ* with Haase, "he and his staff." By "the associated gods" we should understand

is their method of inspection—and next to take breakfast and to relieve the outposts quickly. After this there are amusements and recreations until the evening exercises. These being finished, the herald 7 gives the order to take the evening meal, and, as soon as they have sung to the praise of the gods to whom they have sacrificed with good omens, to rest by the arms.

Let not the length to which I run occasion surprise, for it is almost impossible to find any detail in military matters requiring attention that is overlooked by the Lacedaemonians.

XIII. I will also give an account of the power and honour that Lycurgus conferred on the King in the field. In the first place, while on military service the King and his staff are maintained by the state. The colonels mess with the King, in order that constant intercourse may give better opportunities for taking counsel together in case of need. Three of the peers also attend the King's mess. These three take entire charge of the commissariat for the King and his staff, so that these may devote all their time to affairs of war.

But I will go back to the beginning, and explain 2 how the King sets out with an army. First he offers up sacrifice at home to Zeus the Leader and to the gods associated with him.¹ If the sacrifice appears propitious, the Fire-bearer takes fire from the altar and leads the way to the borders of the land. There the King offers sacrifice again to Zeus and Athena. Only when the sacrifice proves 3 acceptable to both these deities does he cross the Castor and Pollux, the Dioscuri. In the Oxford text I gave ~~their sister~~, "the twin gods."

διαβαίνει τὰ ὅρια τῆς χώρας· καὶ τὸ -τὸ μὲν
 ἄ-ο -ούτων τῶν ιερῶν -ροηγεῖ-αι οὔ-ο-ε ἄ-ο
 σθει· οὐμειον, σφάγια δὲ -αιτοῖα ἔ-εται ἀ-εὶ
 ὅταν θύηται, ἄρχεται μὲν τούτου τοῦ ἔργου ἔ-
 κι εφαῖος, -ρολαμβάνειν βουλόμειος τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ
 4 εὗιοιαι. -άρεισι δὲ περὶ τὴν θυσίαν -ολέμαρχοι,
 λοχαγοί, -εν-ηκοι τῆρες, ξένιων στρατίαρχοι
 στρατοῦ σκευοφορικοῦ ἄρχοντες, καὶ -ῶν ἄ-ο
 5 τῶν -όλεων δὲ στρατηγῶν ο βουλόμειος· -άρεισι
 δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐφόρων δύο, οἱ -ολυτραγμονοῦσι μὲν
 οὐδέν, ἦν μὴ ὁ βασιλεὺς -ροσκαλῆ· ὄρωντες δε
 ὅ τι ποιεῖ ἔκαστος -άντας σωφροί ίζουσι, ὡς
 τὸ εἰκός. ὅταν δὲ τελεσθῇ τὰ ιερά, ὁ βασιλεὺς
 τροσκαλέσας -άιτας παραγγέλλει τὰ ποιητέα
 ὥστε ὄρων ταῦτα ἴγήσαιο ἀν τοὺς μὲν ἄλλοις
 αὐτοσχεδιαστὰς εἶναι τῶν στρατιωτικῶν, Λακε
 δαιμοιοιούς δὲ μόνους τῷ δοντι τεχνίτας -ῶν
 τολεμικῶν

6 Ἐτειδάν γε μὴν ἥγηται βασιλεύς, ἦν μὲν
 μηδεὶς ἐναντίος φαίνηται, οὐδεὶς αὐτοῦ -ρόσθει
 πορεύεται τλήν Σκιρῖται καὶ οἱ -ροερενιώμεροι
 ίπτεῖς· ἦν δέ ποτε μάχην οἰωνται ἔσεσθαι, λαβὼν
 τὸ ἄγημα τῆς πρωτῆς μόρας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἄγει
 στρέψας ἐπὶ δόρυ, ἔστ' ἀν γέιηται ἐν μέσῳ δυοῖν
 7 μόραιν καὶ δυοῖν πολεμάρχοιν. οὓς δὲ δεῖ ἐ-
 τουτοις τετάχθαι, ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν περὶ
 δαμοσίαιν συντάττει· εἰσὶ δε οὐτοι δοσοι ἀν
 σύσκηνοι ὡσι πῶν ὁμοίων, καὶ μάντεις καὶ ιατροὶ
 καὶ αὐληταὶ καὶ¹ οἱ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἄρχοντες, καὶ
 ἔθελούσιοι ἦν τινες παρῶσιν ὥστε τῶν δεομένωι
 γίγνεσθαι οὐδὲν ἀπορεῖται· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀπρό-
 σκεπτόν ἔστι.

borders of the land And the fire from these sacrifices leads the way and is never quenched, and animals for sacrifice of every sort follow At all times when he offers sacrifice, the King begins the work before dawn of day, wishing to forestall the goodwill of the god And at the sacrifice are assembled colonels,⁴ captains, lieutenants, commandants of foreign contingents, commanders of the baggage train, and, in addition, any general from the states who chooses to be present There are also present two of the Ephors,⁵ who interfere in nothing except by the King's request, but keep an eye on the proceedings, and see that all behave with a decorum suitable to the occasion When the sacrifices are ended, the King summons all and delivers the orders of the day And so, could you watch the scene, you would think all other men mere improvisors in soldiering and the Lacedaemonians the only artists in warfare

When the King leads, provided that no enemy⁶ appears, no one precedes him except the Sciritae and the mounted vedettes But if ever they think there will be fighting, he takes the lead of the first regiment and wheels to the right, until he is between two regiments and two colonels The troops that⁷ are to support these are marshalled by the senior member of the King's staff The staff consists of all peers who are members of the royal mess, seers, doctors, fluteplayers, commanding officers and any volunteers who happen to be present Thus nothing that has to be done causes any difficulty, for everything is duly provided for

¹ *not added by Zeune S omits with the MSS*

8 Μάλα δὲ καὶ τάδε ὠφέλιμα, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ,
ἐμηχανήσατο Λυκοῦργος εἰς τὸν ἐν ὅτλοις ἀγῶνα.
ὅταν γὰρ ὄρώιτων ἥδη τῶν πολεμίων χίμαιρα
σφαγιάζηται, αὐλεῖν τε πάντας τοὺς παρόντας
αὐλητὰς νόμος καὶ μηδένα Λακεδαιμονίων ἀστε-
φάνωτον εἶναι καὶ ὅπλα δὲ λαμπρύεσθαι προ-
αγορεύεται. ἔξεστι δὲ τῷ νέῳ καὶ κεκριμένῳ¹ εἰς
μάχην συνιέναι καὶ φαιδρὸν εἶναι καὶ εὐδόκιμον.

9 καὶ παρακελεύονται δὲ τῷ ἐνωμοτάρχῃ οὐδ'
ἀκούεται γὰρ εἰς ἑκάστην πᾶσαν τὴν ἐνωμοτίαν
ἀφ' ἑκάστου ἐνωμοτάρχου ἔξω. ὅπως δὲ καλῶς
γίγνηται, πολεμάρχῳ δεῖ μέλειν.

10 "Οταν γε μὴν καιρὸς δοκῇ εἶναι στρατοπεδεύε-
σθαι, τούτου μὲν κύριος βασιλεὺς καὶ τοῦ δεῖξαί
γε, ὅπου δεῖ· τὸ μέντοι πρεσβείας ἀποπέμπεσθαι
καὶ φιλίας καὶ πολεμίας, τοῦτ' οὐ² βασιλέως.
καὶ ἄρχονται μὲν πάντες ἀπὸ βασιλέως, ὅταν
11 βούλωνται πρᾶξαί τι. ἦν δ' οὖν δίκης δεόμενός
τις ἔλθῃ, πρὸς ἑλλανοδίκας τοῦτον ὁ βασιλεὺς
ἀποπέμπει, ἦν δὲ χρημάτων, πρὸς ταμίας, ἦν
δὲ ληίδα ἄγων, πρὸς λαφυροπώλας. οὕτω δὲ
πραττομένων βασιλεῖ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔργον κατα-
λείπεται ἐπὶ φρουρᾶς ἢ ιερεῖ μὲν τὰ πρὸς τοὺς
θεοὺς εἶναι, στρατηγῷ δὲ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

XIV. Εἰ δέ τις με ἔροιτο, εἰ καὶ νῦν ἔτι μοι

¹ κεκριμένῳ is somehow wrong. Weiske proposed καὶ κόμην διακεκριμένῳ after Plutarch, *Lyc.* 22. εὐδόκιμον also comes in oddly as the text stands. Probably some words are lost either before φαιδρὸν or after εὐδόκιμον.

² οὐ Weiske and S with the MSS.

The following arrangements¹ made by Lycurgus 8 with a view to the actual fighting are also, in my opinion, very useful. When a goat is sacrificed, the enemy being near enough to see, custom ordains that all the fluteplayers present are to play and every Lacedaemonian is to wear a wreath. An order is also given to polish arms. It is also the privilege of the young warrior to comb his hair (?) before entering battle, to look cheerful and earn a good report. Moreover, the men shout words of encouragement to the subaltern, for it is impossible for each subaltern to make his voice travel along the whole of his section to the far end.² The colonel is responsible for seeing that all is done properly.

When the time for encamping seems to have 10 arrived, the decision rests with the King, who also indicates the proper place. On the other hand the dispatch of embassies whether to friends or enemies is not the King's affair. All who have any business to transact deal in the first instance with the King. Suitors for justice are remitted by the 11 King to the Court of Hellanodicae, applications for money to the treasurers, and if anyone brings booty, he is sent to the auctioneers. With this routine the only duties left to the King on active service are to act as priest in matters of religion and as general in his dealings with the men.

XIV Should anyone ask me whether I think

¹ This paragraph is an afterthought, supplementing c xi 3-4.

² When two or more sections are abreast (c xi 4) the men take up and repeat the exhortations of the subaltern posted at the end of the line, and pass them along to the next subaltern, and so on. These detached notes are not clearly expressed.

ΧΕΝΟΡΗΙΟΝ

δοκοῦσιν οἱ Λυκούργου νόμοι ἀκίνητοι διαμένειν,
 2 τοῦτο μὰ Δὲ οὐκ ἀν ἔτι θρασέως εἴποιμι. οἶδα
 γὰρ πρότερον μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους αἴρουμένους
 οἵκοι τὰ μέτρια ἔχοντας ἄλλῃλοις συνεῖναι μᾶλλον
 ή ἀρμόζοντας ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ κολακευομένους
 3 διαφθείρεσθαι. καὶ πρόσθεν μὲν οἶδα αὐτὸὺς
 φοβουμένους χρυσίον ἔχοντας φαίνεσθαι· νῦν δ'
 ἔστιν οὖς καὶ καλλωπιζομένους ἐπὶ τῷ κεκτῆσθαι.
 4 ἐπίσταμαι δὲ καὶ πρόσθεν τούτου ἐνεκα ξενηλα-
 σίας γιγνομένας καὶ ἀποδημεῖν οὐκ ἔξον, ὅπως
 μὴ ῥᾳδιουργίας οἱ πολῖται ἀπὸ τῶν ξένων ἐμπί-
 πλαιντο· νῦν δ' ἐπίσταμαι τοὺς δοκοῦντας
 πρώτους εἶναι ἐσπουδακότας, ὡς μηδέποτε
 5 παύωνται ἀρμόζοντες ἐπὶ ξένης. καὶ ἦν μὲν
 ὅτε ἐπεμελοῦντο, ὅπως ἄξιοι εἰεν ἡγεῖσθαι· νῦν
 δὲ πολὺ μᾶλλον πραγματεύονται, ὅπως ἄρξουσιν
 6 ἡ ὅπως ἄξιοι τούτου ἔσονται. τοιγαροῦν οἱ
 "Ελλῆνες πρότερον μὲν ἰόντες εἰς Λακεδαίμονα
 ἐδέοντο αὐτῶν ἡγεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τοὺς δοκοῦντας
 ἀδικεῖν· νῦν δὲ πολλοὶ παρακαλοῦσιν ἄλλῃλους
 7 ἐπὶ τὸ διακωλύειν ἄρξαι πάλιν αὐτούς. οὐδὲν
 μέντοι δεῖ θαυμάζειν τούτων τῶν ἐπιψόγων αὐτοῖς
 γιγνομένων, ἐπειδὴ φανεροί εἰσιν οὕτε τῷ θεῷ
 πειθόμενοι οὕτε τοῖς Λυκούργου νόμοις.

XV. Βούλομαι δὲ καὶ ἀς βασιλεῖ πρὸς τὴν
 πόλιν συνθήκας ὁ Λυκούργος ἐποίησε διηγήσα-
 σθαι· μόνη γὰρ δὴ αὗτη ἀρχὴ διατελεῖ οἴσαπερ
 ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατεστάθη· τὰς δὲ ἄλλας πολιτείας

that the laws of Lycurgus still remain unchanged at this day, I certainly could not say that with any confidence whatever¹ For I know that formerly the Lacedaemonians preferred to live together at home with moderate fortunes rather than expose themselves to the corrupting influences of flattery as governors of dependent states And I know too that in former days they were afraid to be found in possession of gold, whereas nowadays there are some who even boast of their possessions There were alien acts in former days, and to live abroad was illegal, and I have no doubt that the purpose of these regulations was to keep the citizens from being demoralized by contact with foreigners, and now I have no doubt that the fixed ambition of those who are thought to be first among them is to live to their dying day as governors in a foreign land There was a time when they would fain be worthy of leadership, but now they strive far more earnestly to exercise rule than to be worthy of it. Therefore in times past the Greeks would come to Lacedaemon and beg her to lead them against reputed wrong doers, but now many are calling on one another to prevent a revival of Lacedaemonian supremacy Let us need not wonder if these reproaches are levelled at them, since it is manifest that they obey neither their god nor the laws of Lycurgus

XV I wish also to give an account of the compact made by Lycurgus between king and state For this is the only government that continues exactly as it was originally established, whereas

¹ *obr.* It probably does not correspond to "no longer" here. On this chapter see Introduction.

εῦροι ἂν τις μετακεκινημένας καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν
μετακινουμένας.

- 2 Ἐθηκε γὰρ θύειν μὲν βασιλέα πρὸ τῆς πόλεως
τὰ δημόσια ἀπαντα, ὡς ἀπὸ θεοῦ ὄντα, καὶ
στρατιὰν ὅποι ἄν ἡ πόλις ἐκπέμπῃ ἴγεισθαι.
- 3 ἔδωκε δὲ καὶ γέρα ἀπὸ τῶν θυομένων λαμβάνειν
καὶ γῆν τε ἐν πολλαῖς τῶν περιοίκων πόλεων
ἀπέδειξεν ἔξαρτεν τοσαύτην, ὥστε μήτ' ἐνδεῖσθαι
- 4 τῶν μετρίων μήτε πλούτῳ ὑπερφέρειν. ὅπως
δὲ καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἔξω σκηνοῦντες, σκηνὴν αὐτοῖς
δημοσίαν ἀπέδειξε, καὶ διμοιρίᾳ γε ἐπὶ τῷ δείπνῳ
ἐτίμησεν, οὐχ ἵνα διπλάσια καταφάγοιεν, ἀλλ' ἵνα
καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε τιμῆσαι ἔχοιεν εἰ τινα βούλοιτο.
- 5 ἔδωκε δ' αὖ καὶ συσκήνους δύο ἐκατέρῳ προσ-
ελέσθαι, οἱ δὴ καὶ Πύθιοι καλοῦνται. ἔδωκε
δὲ καὶ πασῶν τῶν συῶν ἀπὸ τόκου χοῖρον
λαμβάνειν, ὡς μήποτε ἀπορήσαι βασιλεὺς ἱερῶν,
ἥν τι δεηθῆ θεοῖς συμβουλεύσασθαι.
- 6 Καὶ πρὸς τῇ οἰκίᾳ δὲ λίμνη ὑδατος ἀφθονίαν
παρέχει· ὅτι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς πολλὰ χρήσιμον,
οἱ μὴ ἔχοντες αὐτὸ μᾶλλον γιγνώσκουσι. καὶ
ἔδρας δὲ πάντες ὑπανίστανται βασιλεῖ πλὴν οὐκ
- 7 ἔφοροι ἀπὸ τῶν ἔφορικῶν δίφρων. καὶ ὅρκους
δὲ ἀλλήλοις κατὰ μῆνα ποιοῦνται, ἔφοροι μὲν
ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, βασιλεὺς δ' ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ. ὁ
δὲ ὅρκος ἐστὶ τῷ μὲν βασιλεῖ κατὰ τοὺς τῆς
πόλεως κειμένους νόμους βασιλεύσειν, τῇ δὲ
πόλει ἐμπεδορκοῦντος ἐκείνου ἀστυφέλικτον τὴν
βασιλείαν παρέξειν.
- 8 Αὗται μὲν οὖν αἱ τιμαὶ οἴκοι¹ ζῶντι βασιλεῖ
δέδονται, οὐδέν τι πολὺ ὑπερφέρουσαι τῶν ἰδι-

¹ S., following Cobet, regards οἴκοι as spurious.

other constitutions will be found to have undergone and still to be undergoing modifications

He ordained that the King shall offer all the 2 public sacrifices on behalf of the state, in virtue of his divine descent, and that, whatever may be the destination to which the state sends out an army, he shall be its leader. He also gave him the right to 3 receive certain parts of the beasts sacrificed, and assigned to him enough choice land in many of the outlanders' cities to ensure him a reasonable com-

I In order that even 4
t d to them

a public mess tent, he also gave them with a double portion at the meal, not that they might eat enough for two, but that they might have the wherewithal to honour anyone whom they chose. He also allowed each King to choose two mess 5 mates, who are called Pythii. Further, he granted them to take of every litter of pigs a porker, that a King may never want victims, in case he wishes to seek counsel of the gods

A lake near the house supplies abundance of water, 6 and how useful that is for many purposes none know so well as those who are without it. Further, all rise from their seats when the King appears, only the Ephors do not rise from their official chairs. And 7 they exchange oaths monthly, the Ephors on behalf of the state, the King for himself. And this is the King's oath "I will reign according to the established laws of the state." And this the oath of the state "While you abide by your oath, we will keep the kingship unshaken.

These then are the honours that are bestowed on 8 the King at home during his lifetime, and they do

XENOPHON

ωτικῶν οὐ γὰρ ἐβουλήθη οὔτε τοῖς βασιλεῦσι τυραννικὸν φρονημα παραστῆσαι οὔτε τοῖς πολὶ ταῖς φθόνον ἐμποιῆσαι τὴν δυνάμεως. αἱ δὲ τελευτήσαντι τιμαὶ βασιλεῖ δέδονται, τῇ δε βούλονται δηλοῦν οἱ Λυκούργου νόμοι, ὅτι οὐχ ᾧς ἀι θρώπους, ἀλλ' ᾧς ἥρωας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεῖς προτετιμήκασιν.

¹ Herodotus (vi. 58) gives details of these honours. The elaborate funeral obsequies were attended by a great concourse of men and women from all parts of Laconia. A man and a woman in every family were compelled to go into

THE LACEDAEMONIANS, xv 8-9

not greatly exceed those of private persons. For it was not the wish of Lycurgus to put into the Kings' hearts despotic pride, nor to implant in the mind of the citizens envy of their power. As for the honours assigned to the King at his death, the intention of the laws of Lycurgus herein is to show that they have preferred the Kings of the Lacedaemonians in honour not as mere men, but as demigods.¹

mourning. If a king died on foreign service his body was embalmed and brought home if possible, if not, an image of him, as in the case of Agesilaus was buried.



WAYS AND MEANS

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΠΟΡΟΙ

I. Ἐγὼ μὲν τοῦτο ἀεί ποτε νομίζω, ὅποιοι τινες ἀν οἱ προστάται ὡσι, τοιαύτας καὶ τὰς πολιτείας γίγνεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν Ἀθήνησι προεστηκότων ἐλέγουντό τινες ὡς γιγνώσκουσι μὲν τὸ δίκαιον οὐδενὸς ἡττον τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, διὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ πλήθους πενίαν ἀναγκάζεσθαι ἔφασαν ἀδικώτεροι εἶναι περὶ τὰς πόλεις, ἐκ τούτου ἐπεχείρησα σκοπεῖν, εἰ πη δύναιντ' ἀν οἱ πολίται διατρέφεσθαι ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτῶν, δθευπερ καὶ δικαιότατον, νομίζων, εἰ τοῦτο γένοιτο, ἀμα τῇ τε πενίᾳ αὐτῶν ἐπικεκουρῆσθαι ἀν καὶ τῷ ὑπόπτους τοῖς⁵ Ἑλλησιν εἶναι.

2 Σκοποῦντι δή μοι ἡ ἐπενόησα τοῦτο μὲν εὐθὺς ἀνεφαίνετο, δτι ἡ χώρα πέφυκεν οἴα πλείστας προσόδους παρέχεσθαι. ὅπως δὲ γνωσθῇ, δτι ἀληθὲς τοῦτο λέγω, πρῶτον διηγήσομαι τὴν φύσιν τῆς Ἀττικῆς.

3 Οὐκοῦν τὸ μὲν τὰς ὥρας ἐνθάδε πραοτάτας εἶναι καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ γιγγόμενα μαρτυρεῖν ἡ γοῦν πολλαχοῦ οὐδὲ βλαστάνειν δύναιτ' ἄν, ἐνθάδε καρποφορεῖ. ὥσπερ δὲ ἡ γῆ, οὕτω καὶ ἡ περὶ τὴν χώραν θάλαττα παμφορωτάτη ἐστί. καὶ μὴν ὅσαπερ οἱ θεοὶ ἐν ταῖς ὥραις ἀγαθὰ παρέχουσι, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα ἐνταῦθα πρωιαίτατα

4 μὲν ἀρχεται, δψιαίτατα δὲ λήγει. οὐ μόνον δὲ κρατεῖ τοῖς ἐπ' ἐνιαυτὸν θάλλουσί τε καὶ γηράσκουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀίδια ἀγαθὰ ἔχει ἡ

WAYS AND MEANS

I For my part I have always held that the constitution of a state reflects the character of the leading politicians¹. But some of the leading men at Athens have stated that they recognize justice as clearly as other men, "but, they have said, "owing to the poverty of the masses, we are forced to be somewhat unjust in our treatment of the cities." This set me thinking whether by any means the citizens might obtain food entirely from their own soil, which would certainly be the fairest way. I felt that, were this so, they would be relieved of their poverty, and also of the suspicion with which they are regarded by the Greek world.

Now as I thought over my ideas, one thing² seemed clear at once that the country is by its nature capable of furnishing an ample revenue. To drive home the truth of this statement I will first describe the natural properties of Attica.

The extreme mildness of the seasons here is shown³ by the actual products. At any rate, plants that will not even grow in many countries bear fruit here. Not less productive than the land is the sea around the coasts. Notice too that the good things which the gods send in their season all come in earlier here and go out later than elsewhere. And the pre⁴ eminance of the land is not only in the things that bloom and wither annually; she has other good things

¹ See Introduction.

χώρα. πέφυκε μὲν γὰρ λίθος ἐν αὐτῇ ἄφθονος,
 ἔξ οὖ κάλλιστοι μὲν ναοί, κάλλιστοι δὲ βωμοὶ
 γίγνονται, εὐπρεπέστατα δὲ θεοῖς ἀγάλματα·
 πολλοὶ δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ "Ελλῆνες καὶ βάρβαροι
 5 προσδέονται. ἔστι δὲ καὶ γῆ ἡ σπειρομένη μὲν
 οὐ φέρει καρπόν, ὄρυττομένη δὲ πολλαπλασίους
 τρέφει ἡ εἰ σῖτον ἔφερε. καὶ μὴν ὑπάργυρός
 ἔστι σαφῶς θεία μοίρα· πολλῶν γοῦν πόλεων
 παροικουσῶν καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν
 εἰς οὐδεμίᾳν τούτων οὐδὲ μικρὰ φλὲψ ἀργυρί-
 τιδος διήκει.

6 Οὐκ ἀν ἀλόγως δέ τις οἰηθείη τῆς Ἑλλάδος
 καὶ πάσης δὲ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀμφὶ τὰ μέσα
 οἰκεῖσθαι¹ τὴν πόλιν. ὅσῳ γὰρ ἀν τινες πλεῖστοι
 ἀπέχωσιν αὐτῆς, τοσούτῳ χαλεπωτέροις ἡ ψύ-
 χεσιν ἡ θάλπεσιν ἐντυγχάνουσιν· ὅπόσοι τ' ἀν
 αὐ βουληθῶσιν ἀπ' ἐσχάτων τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπ'
 ἐσχατα ἀφικέσθαι, πάντες οὗτοι ὥσπερ κύκλου
 τόρνον τὰς Ἀθήνας ἡ παραπλέουσιν ἡ παρέρ-
 7 χονται. καὶ μὴν οὐ περίρρυτός γε οὖσα δῆμος
 ὥσπερ νῆσος πᾶσιν ἀνέμοις προσάγεται τε ὁν
 δεῖται καὶ ἀποπέμπεται ἢ βούλεται· ἀμφιθά-
 λαττος γάρ ἔστι. καὶ κατὰ γῆν δὲ πολλὰ
 8 δέχεται ἐμπορία². ἡ πειρος γάρ ἔστιν. ἔτι δὲ
 ταῖς μὲν πλείσταις πόλεσι βάρβαροι προσοι-
 κοῦντες πράγματα παρέχουσιν· Ἀθηναίοις δὲ
 γειτονεύουσιν αἱ καὶ αὐταὶ πλεῖστον ἀπέχουσι
 τῶν βαρβάρων.

II. Τούτων μὲν οὖν ἀπάντων, ὥσπερ εἴπον,
 νομίζω αὐτὴν τὴν χώραν αἰτίαν εἶναι. εἰ δὲ
 πρὸς τοῖς αὐτοφυέσιν ἀγαθοῖς πρῶτον μὲν τῶν
 μετοίκων ἐπιμέλεια γένοιτο· αὕτη γάρ ἡ πρόσοδος
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that last for ever. Nature has put in her abundance of stone, from which are fashioned lovely temples and lovely altars, and goodly statues for the gods Many Greeks and barbarians alike have need of it Again, there is land that yields no fruit if sown, and yet, when quarried, feeds many times the number it could support if it grew corn And recollect, there is silver in the soil, the gift, beyond doubt, of divine providence . at any rate, many as are the states near to her by land and sea, into none of them does even a thin vein of silver ore extend

One might reasonably suppose that the city lies at the centre of Greece, nay of the whole inhabited world For the further we go from her, the more intense is the heat or cold we meet with , and every traveller who would cross from one to the other end of Greece passes Athens as the centre of a circle, whether he goes by water or by road Then too, though she is not wholly sea girt, all the winds of heaven bring to her the goods she needs and bear away her exports, as if she were an island , for she lies between two seas and she has a vast land trade as well, for she is of the mainland Further, on the borders of most states dwell barbarians who trouble them : but the neighbouring states of Athens are themselves remote from the barbarians

II All these advantages, as I have said, are, I believe, due to the country itself But instead of limiting ourselves to the blessings that may be called indigenous, suppose that, in the first place, we studied the interests of the resident aliens For in them we

¹ οἰκεῖοθας papyrus fragment ὀκηνοθας MSS φκείσθας S, Dindorf

* διμωρίῃ Schanz with M. διμώρια S διμωρεῖα AC

τῶν καλλίστων ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἐπείπερ
 αὐτοὺς τρέφουντες καὶ πολλὰ ὡφελοῦντες τὰς
 πόλεις οὐ λαμβάνουσι μισθόν, ἀλλὰ μετοίκιον
 2 προσφέρουσιν· ἐπιμέλειά γε μὴν ἦδ' ἀν ἀρκεῖν
 μοι δοκεῖ, εἰ ἀφέλοιμεν μὲν δσα μηδὲν ὡφελοῦντα
 τὴν πόλιν ἀτιμίας τι¹ δοκεῖ τοῖς μετοίκοις παρέ-
 χειν, ἀφέλοιμεν δε καὶ τὸ συστρατεύεσθαι ὅπλίτας
 μετοίκους τοῖς ἀστοῖς μέγας μὲν γάρ ὁ κίνδυνος
 αὐτῶν, μέγα δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν τεχνῶν καὶ τῶν
 3 οἰκείων² ἀπιέναι. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἡ πόλις γ' ἀν
 ὡφεληθείη, εἰ οἱ πολῖται μετ' ἀλλήλων στρατεύ-
 οιντο μᾶλλον ἢ εἰ συντάττοιντο αὐτοῖς, ὥσπερ
 νῦν, Λυδοὶ καὶ Φρύγες καὶ Σύροι καὶ ἄλλοι
 παντοδαποὶ βάρβαροι· πολλοὶ γάρ τοιοῦτοι τῶν
 4 μετοίκων. πρὸς δὲ τῷ ἀγαθῷ τῷ τούτους τοῦ³
 συντάττεσθαι ἀφεθῆναι καὶ κόσμος ἀν τῇ πόλει
 εἴη, εἰ δοκοῦεν Ἀθηναῖοι εἰς τὰς μάχας αὐτοῖς
 μᾶλλον πιστεύειν ἢ ἀλλοδαποῖς.
 5 Καὶ μεταδιδόντες δ' ἀν μοι δοκοῦμεν τοῖς
 μετοίκοις τῶν τ' ἄλλων ὡν καλὸν μεταδιδόνται
 καὶ τοῦ ἵππικοῦ εὔνουστέρους ἀν ποιεῖσθαι καὶ
 ἄμα ἴσχυροτέραν ἀν καὶ μείζω τὴν πόλιν
 ἀποδεικνύναι.
 6 Εἴτα ἐπειδὴ καὶ πολλὰ οἰκιῶν ἔρημά ἔστιν
 ἐντὸς τῶν τειχῶν,⁴ καὶ οἰκόπεδα εἰ ἡ πόλις διδοίη
 οἰκοδομησαμένοις ἔγκεκτῆσθαι οὖ ἀν αἰτούμενοι

¹ τι added by Weiske S omits with the MSS

² οἰκεῖων Dindorf οἰκιῶν S with the MSS

³ τοῦ Schneider ἐκ τοῦ S with the MSS

⁴ Punctuation as corrected by Brinkmann S has the comma after οἰκόπεδα

¹ The MSS have τῶν τέκνων, "their children."

have one of the very best sources of revenue, in my opinion, inasmuch as they are self-supporting and, so far from receiving payment for the many services they render to states, they contribute by paying a special tax I think that we should study their interests sufficiently, if we relieved them of the duties that seem to impose a certain measure of disability on the resident alien without conferring any benefit on the state, and also of the obligation to serve in the infantry along with the citizens Apart from the personal risk, it is no small thing to leave their trades¹ and their private affairs² The state itself too would gain if the citizens served in the ranks together, and no longer found themselves in the same company with Lydians, Phrygians, Syrians, and barbarians of all sorts, of whom a large part of our alien population consists In addition to the advantage of dispensing with the services of these men, it would be an ornament to the state that the Athenians should be thought to rely on themselves rather than on the help of foreigners in fighting their battles

If, moreover, we granted the resident aliens the right to serve in the cavalry and various other privileges which it is proper to grant them, I think that we should find their loyalty increase and at the same time should add to the strength and greatness of the state

Then again, since there are many vacant sites for houses within the walls, if the state allowed approved applicants to erect houses on these and

¹ ταῦτα εἰσὶν, "their houses," may possibly be right in spite of what is said below in § 6.

ἄξιοι δοκῶσιν εἶναι, πολὺ ἀν οἴμαι καὶ διὰ ταῦτα πλείους τε καὶ βελτίους ὀρέγεσθαι τῆς Ἀθήνησιν οἰκησεως.

7 Καὶ εἰ μετοικοφύλακάς γε ὥσπερ ὄρφανοφύλακας ἀρχὴν καθισταῖμεν καὶ τούτοις τιμή τις ἐπείη, οἵτινες πλείστους¹ μετοίκους ἀποδείξειαν, καὶ τοῦτο εὐνουστέρους ἀν τοὺς μετοίκους ποιοίη καὶ, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, πάντες ἀν οἱ ἀπόλιδες τῆς Ἀθήνηθεν μετοικίας ὀρέγοιντο καὶ τὰς προσόδους ἀν αὔξοιεν,

III. "Ως γε μὴν καὶ ἐμπορεύεσθαι ἡδίστη τε καὶ κερδαλεωτάτη ἡ πόλις, νῦν ταῦτα λέξω.

Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ δήπου ναυσὶ καλλίστας καὶ ἀσφαλεστάτας ὑποδοχὰς ἔχει, ὅπου γ' ἔστιν εἰσορμισθέντας ἀδεῶς² ἔνεκα χειμῶνος ἀναπαύεται² σθαι. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τοῖς ἐμπόροις ἐν μὲν ταῖς πλείσταις τῶν πόλεων ἀντιφορτίζεσθαι τι ἀνάγκη· νομίσμασι γὰρ οὐ χρησίμοις ἔξω χρῶνται· ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἀθήναις πλεῖστα μὲν ἔστιν ἀντεξάγειν ών ἀν δέωνται ἀνθρωποι, ἦν δὲ μὴ βούλωνται ἀντιφορτίζεσθαι, καὶ³ ἀργύριον ἔξαγοντες καλὴν ἐμπορίαν ἔξαγουσιν. ὅπου γὰρ ἀν πωλῶσιν αὐτό, πανταχοῦ πλεῖον τοῦ ἀρχαίου λαμβάνουσιν.

3 Εἰ δὲ καὶ τῇ τοῦ ἐμπορίου ἀρχῇ ἀθλα προτιθένη τις, ὅστις δικαιότατα καὶ τάχιστα διαιροίη τὰ ἀμφίλογα, ὡς μὴ ἀποκωλύεσθαι ἀποπλεῖν τὸν βουλόμενον, πολὺ ἀν καὶ διὰ ταῦτα πλείους τε καὶ ἥδιον ἐμπορεύοιντο.

¹ πλείστους Cobet: πλείους S. with the MSS.

² ἀδεῶς Cobet: ἡδέως S. with the MSS.

³ καὶ Deventer: καὶ εἰ S. with the MSS.

granted them the freehold of the land, I think that we should find a larger and better class of persons desiring to live at Athens

And if we appointed a board of Guardians of 7 Athens analogous to the Guardians of Orphans, and some kind of distinction were earmarked for guardians whose list of resident aliens was longest, that too would add to the loyalty of the aliens, and probably all without a city would covet the right of settling in Athens, and would increase our revenues

III I shall now say something of the unrivalled amenities and advantages of our city as a commercial centre

In the first place, I presume, she possesses the finest and safest accommodation for shipping, since vessels can anchor here and ride safe at their moorings in spite of bad weather. Moreover, at 2 most other ports merchants are compelled to ship a return cargo, because the local currency has no circulation in other states, but at Athens they have the opportunity of exchanging their cargo and exporting very many classes of goods that are in demand, or, if they do not want to ship a return cargo of goods, it is sound business to export silver, for, wherever they sell it, they are sure to make a profit on the capital invested

If prizes were offered to the magistrates of the 3 market¹ for just and prompt settlement of disputes, so that sailings were not delayed, the effect would be that a far larger number of merchants would trade with us and with much greater satisfaction

¹ The market at the Peiraeus. The functions of the Board alluded to are unknown, apart from what is implied in the text.

- 4 ἄγαθον δὲ καὶ καλὸν καὶ προεδρίαις τιμᾶσθαι
ἔμπόρους καὶ γαυκλήρους καὶ ἐπὶ ξένια γ' ἔστιν
ὅτε καλεῖσθαι, οἱ ἀν δοκῶσιν ἀξιολόγοις καὶ
πλοίοις καὶ ἔμπορεύμασιν ὥφελεῖν τὴν πόλιν.
ταῦτα γὰρ τιμώμενοι οὐ μόνοι τοῦ κέρδους ἀλλὰ
καὶ τῆς τιμῆς ἔνεκεν ὡς πρὸς φίλους ἐπισπεύδοιεν
ἄν.
- 5 "Οσῳ γε μὴν πλείονες εἰσοικίζοιντό τε καὶ
ἀφικιοῦντο, δῆλον ὅτι τοσούτῳ ἀν πλείον καὶ
εἰσάγοιτο καὶ ἐκπέμποιτο καὶ πωλοῖτο καὶ
μισθοφοροῖτο καὶ τελεσφοροίη.
- 6 Εἰς μὲν οὖν τὰς τοιαύτας αὐξήσεις τῶν
προσόδων οὐδὲ προδαπανῆσαι¹ δεῖ οὐδὲν ἀλλ'
ἡ ψηφίσματά τε φιλάνθρωπα καὶ ἐπιμελεῖας
οσαι δ' ἀν ἀλλαι δοκοῦσι μοι πρόσοδοι γίγνε-
σθαι, γιγνώσκω ὅτι ἀφορμῆς δεησει εἰς αὐτάς.
- 7 οὐ μέντοι δύσελπίς εἴμι τὸ μὴ οὐχὶ προθύμως
ἀν τοὺς πολίτας εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα εἰσφέρειν,
ἐνθυμούμενος, ὡς πολλὰ μὲν εἰσήνεγκεν ἡ πόλις,
ὅτε Ἀρκάσιν ἐβοήθει ἐπὶ Λυσιστράτου ἥγου-
- 8 μένου, πολλὰ δὲ ἐπὶ Ἡγησίλεω. ἐπίσταμαι δὲ
καὶ τριήρεις πολλάκις ἐκπεμπομένας σὺν πολλῇ
δαπάνῃ² τούτου μὲν ἀδήλους ὅντος, εἴτε βέλτιον
εἴτε κάκιον ἔσται, ἔκείνου δὲ δῆλου, ὅτι οὐδέποτε
ἀπολήψονται ἀν εἰσενέγκωσιν οὐδὲ μεθέξουσιν
- 9 ὃν ἀν εἰσωέγκωσι. κτῆσιν δὲ ἀπ' οὐδενὸς ἀν οὗτω
καλὴν κτήσαιντο ὥσπερ ἀφ' οὐ ἀν προτελέσωσιν
εἰς τὴν ἀφορμήν· φ' μὲν γὰρ ἀν δέκα μναῖ εἰσφορὰ

¹ προδαπανῆσαι inferior MSS.: προσδαπανῆσαι S. with A:
δαπανῆσαι M.

² S. adds καὶ ταῦτα γενομένας with the MSS. Schneider
conjectures καὶ ταῦτα γενόμενα: Bске κατεσκευασμένα.

It would also be an excellent plan to reserve front 4 seats in the theatre for merchants and shipowners, and to offer them hospitality occasionally, when the high quality of their ships and merchandise entitles them to be considered benefactors of the state. With the prospect of these honours before them they would look on us as friends and listen to visit us to win the honour as well as the profit.

The rise in the number of residents and visitors 5 would of course lead to a corresponding expansion of our imports and exports, of sales, rents and customs.

Now such additions to our revenues as these need 6 cost us nothing whatever beyond benevolent legislation and measures of control. Other methods of raising revenue that I have in mind will require capital, no doubt. Nevertheless I venture to hope 7 that the citizens would contribute eagerly towards such objects, when I recall the large sums contributed by the state when Lysistratus was in command and troops were sent to aid the Arcadians,¹ and again in the time of Hegesileos.² I am also 8 aware that large expenditure is frequently incurred to send warships abroad, though none can tell whether the venture will be for better or worse, and the only thing certain is that the subscribers will never see their money back nor even enjoy any part of what they contribute. But no investment 9 can yield them so fine a return as the money advanced by them to form the capital fund. For every subscriber of ten *minae*, drawing three *obols* a day,

¹ 366 B.C.

² 361 B.C. Hegesileos commanded at the battle of Mantinea.

- γένηται, ὡσπερ γαυτικὸν σχεδὸν ἀπίτεμπτον
αὐτῷ γῆγεται, τριώδολον τῆς ἡμέρας λαμβά-
νοιτι· ὃ δέ γ' ἄν πέρτε μνᾶι, πλεῖον ἡ ἐπίτριτον.
- 10 οἱ δέ γε πλεῖστοι Ἀθηναῖων πλείονα λήψοιται
κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἡ ὥστα ἄν εἰσενέγκωσιν. οἱ γὰρ
μνᾶι προτελέσαντες ἔγρυν δυοῖν μνᾶιν πρότερον δον
ἔχουσι, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν πόλει, ὃ δοκεῖ τῶν ἀνθρω-
πίων ἀσφαλέστατον τε καὶ πολυχρονιώτατον
εἶναι.
- 11 Οἵμαι δὲ ἔγωγε, εἰ μέλλοιεν ἀγαγραφῆσεσθαι
εὑρεγέται εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον, καὶ ξέροντας ἄν
πολλοὺς εἰσεγγύκειν, ἔστι δὲ ὃς ἄν καὶ πόλεις
τῆς ἀγαγραφῆς ὀρεγομένας. ἐλπίζω δὲ καὶ
βασιλέας ἄν τινας καὶ τυράννους καὶ σατράπας
ἐπιθυμῆσαι μετασχεῖν ταύτης τῆς χάριτος.
- 12 'Οπότε γε μὴν ἀφορμῇ ὑπάρχοι, καλὸν μὲν
καὶ ἀγαθὸν γαυκλήροις σίκοδομεῖν καταγώγια
περὶ λιμένας πρὸς τοῖς ὑπάρχουσι, καλὸν δὲ καὶ
ἐμπόροις προσήκοντας τόπους ἐπὶ¹ ὧντι τε καὶ
πρύσει καὶ τοῖς εἰσαφικρουμένοις δὲ δημόσια
- 13 καταγώγια. εἰ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀγοραίοις οἰκήσεις
τε καὶ πωλητήρια κατασκευασθείη καὶ ἐν Πει-
ραιεῖ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἄστει, ἂμα τ' ἄν κόσμος εἴη τῇ
πόλει καὶ πολλαῖς ἄν ἀπὸ τούτων πρόσοδοι
γίγνοιντο.
- 14 'Αγαθὸν δέ μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι πειραθῆναι, εἰ καὶ
ῶσπερ τριήρεις δημοσίας ἡ πόλις κέκτηται,
οὕτῳ καὶ ὀλκάδας δημοσίας δυνατὸν ἄν γένοιτο
κτήσασθαι καὶ ταύτας ἐκμισθοῦν ἐπ' ἔγγυητῶν
ῶσπερ καὶ τάλλα δημόσια. εἰ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο

¹ προσήκοντας τόπους ἐπὶ Bergk: ἐπὶ προσήκοντας τόπους S. with the MSS.

gets nearly twenty per cent.—as much as he would get on bottomry;¹ and every subscriber of five *mina* gets more than a third of his capital back in interest. But most of the Athenians will get over 10 a hundred per cent. in a year, for those who advance one *mina* will draw an income of nearly two *mina*, guaranteed by the state, which is to all appearances the safest and most durable of human institutions.

I think, too, that if their names were to be recorded in the roll of benefactors for all time, many foreigners also would subscribe, and a certain number of states would be attracted by the prospect of enrolment. I believe that even kings and despots and oriental governors would desire to share in this reward

When funds were sufficient, it would be a fine 12 plan to build more lodging houses for shipowners near the harbours, and convenient places of exchange for merchants, also hotels to accommodate visitors. Again, if houses and shops were put up both in the 13 Peiraeus and in the city for retail traders, they would be an ornament to the state, and at the same time the source of a considerable revenue

Moreover, I think it would be a good plan to 14 take a hint from the state ownership of public warships, and to see whether it be possible to acquire a fleet of public merchant vessels and to lease them under securities, like our other public property

¹ 3 *obols* a day are to be paid by the state to every citizen, i.e. 180 *drachmae* a year, or nearly 2 *mina* which is nearly 20 per cent on 10 *mina*, and exactly 36 per cent on half that sum.

XENOPHON

οίον τε δν φανείη, πολλὴ ἀν καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων πρόσοδος γίγνοιτο.

IV. Τά γε μὴν ἀργύρεια εἰ κατασκευασθείη ως δεῖ, πάμπολλα ἀν τομίζω χρήματα ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ ἄνευ τῶν ἄλλων προσόδων προσιέναι. Βούλομαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς μὴ εἰδόσι τὴν τούτων δύναμιν δηλώσαι· ταύτην γὰρ γνόντες καὶ ὅπως χρῆσθαι δεῖ αὐτοῖς ἀμεινον ἀν βουλεύοισθε.

- 2 Οὐκοῦν ὅτι μὲν πάνυ παλαιὰ ἐνεργά ἔστι, πᾶσι σαφές· οὐδεὶς γοῦν οὐδὲ πειράται λέγειν, ἀπὸ ποίου χρόνου ἐπεχειρήθη. οὗτω δὲ πάλαι ὀρυττομένης τε καὶ ἐκφορουμένης τῆς ἀργυρίτιδος κατανοήσατε, τί μέρος οἱ ἐκβεβλημένοι σωροὶ
3 τῶν αὐτοφυῶν τε καὶ ὑπαργύρων λόφων. οὐδὲ μὴν ὁ ἀργυρώδης τόπος εἰς μεῖόν τι συστελλόμενος, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐκτεινόμενος φανερός ἔστιν.

- Ἐν φ γε μὴν χρόνῳ οἱ πλεῖστοι ἀνθρωποι ἐγένοντο ἐν αὐτοῖς, οὐδεὶς πώποτε ἔργου ήπόρησέν, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν ἔργαζομένων περιῆν.
4 καὶ νῦν δὲ οἱ κεκτημένοι ἐν τοῖς μετάλλοις ἀνδράποδα οὐδεὶς τοῦ πλήθους ἀφαιρεῖ, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ προσκτάται ὑπόσα ἀν πλεῖστα δύνηται. καὶ γὰρ δὴ ὅταν μὲν ὀλίγοι ὀρύττωσι καὶ ξητῶσιν, ὀλίγα οἷμαι καὶ τὰ χρήματα εύρισκεται· ὅταν δὲ πολλοί, πολλαπλασία ή ἀργυρίτις ἀναφαίνεται. ὥστε ἐν μόνῳ τούτῳ ὡν ἐγὼ οἶδα ἔργων οὐδὲ φθονεῖ οὐδεὶς τοῖς ἐπικατασκευαζομένοις.¹
5 "Ετι δὲ οἱ μὲν ἀγροὺς κεκτημένοι πάντες

¹ ἐπικατασκευαζομένοις Cobet: ἐπισκευαζομένοις S. with the MSS.

For if this proved to be practicable, these vessels would yield another large revenue

IV As for the silver mines, I believe that if a proper system of working were introduced a vast amount of money would be obtained from them apart from our other sources of revenue. I want to point out the possibilities of these mines to those who do not know. For, once you realize their possibilities, you will be in a better position to consider how the mines should be managed.

Now, we all agree that the mines have been 2 worked for many generations. At any rate, no one even attempts to date the beginning of mining operations. And yet, although digging and the removal of the silver ore have been carried on for so long a time, note how small is the size of the dumps compared with the virgin and silver laden hills. And it is continually being found that, so 3 far from shrinking, the silver-yielding area extends further and further.

Well, so long as the maximum number of workmen was employed in them, no one ever wanted a job, in fact, there were always more jobs than the labourers could deal with. And even at the present day no 4 owner of slaves employed in the mines reduces the number of his men, on the contrary, every master obtains as many more as he can. The fact is, I imagine, that when there are few diggers and searchers, the amount of metal recovered is small, and when there are many, the total of ore discovered is multiplied. Hence of all the industries with which I am acquainted this is the only one in which expansion of business excites no jealousy.

Further than this, every farmer can tell just how 5

6 ἔχοιεν ἀν εἰπεῖν, ὅπόσα ζεύγη ἀρκεῖ εἰς τὸ χωρίον
 καὶ ὅπόσοι ἐργάται· ἦν δὲ ἐπὶ πλεῖον τῶν ἰκανῶν
 ἐμβάλλῃ τις, ζημίαν λογίζονται· ἐν δὲ τοῖς
 ἀργυρέοις ἐργοῖς πάντες δή φασιν ἐνδεῖσθαι
 ἐργατῶν. καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ὥσπερ ὅταν πολλοὶ⁶
 χαλκοτύποι γένωνται, ἀξίων γενομένων τῶν
 χαλκευτικῶν ἐργών, καταλύονται οἱ χαλκοτύ-
 ποι, καὶ οἱ σιδηρεῖς γε ὥσαύτως· καὶ ὅταν γε
 πολὺς σῖτος καὶ οἶνος γένηται, ἀξίων δυτῶν
 τῶν καρπῶν, ἀλυσιτελεῖς αἱ γεωργίαι γίγνονται,
 ὥστε πολλοὶ ἀφιέμενοι τοῦ τὴν γῆν ἐργάζεσθαι
 ἐπ' ἐμπορίας καὶ καπηλείας καὶ τοκισμοὺς
 τρέπονται· ἀργυρῖτις δὲ ὅσῳ ἀν πλείων φαί-
 νηται καὶ ἀργύριον πλεῖον γίγνηται, τοσούτῳ
 7 πλείονες ἐπὶ τὸ ἐργον τοῦτο ἔρχονται. καὶ γὰρ
 δὴ ἐπιπλα μέν, ἐπειδὴν ἰκανά τις κτήσηται τῇ
 οἰκίᾳ, οὐ μάλα ἔτι προσωνοῦνται ἀργύριον δὲ
 οὐδεὶς πω οὕτω πολὺ ἐκτήσατο, ὥστε μὴ ἔτι
 προσδεῖσθαι· ἀλλ' ἦν τισι γένηται παμπληθές,
 τὸ περιττεύον κατορύττοντες οὐδὲν ἡττον ἡδονται
 ἢ χρωμενοι αὐτῷ.

8 Καὶ μὴν ὅταν γε εὖ πράττωσιν αἱ πόλεις,
 ἵσχυρῶς οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀργυρίου δέονται. οἱ μὲν
 γὰρ ἄνδρες ἀμφὶ ὅπλα τε καλὰ καὶ ἵππους
 ἀγαθοὺς καὶ οἰκίας καὶ κατασκευὰς μεγαλοπρε-
 πεῖς βούλονται δαπανᾶν, αἱ δὲ γυναικες εἰς
 ἐσθῆτα πολυτελῆ καὶ χρυσοῦν κόσμον τρέπονται.
 9 ὅταν τε αὐτὸς θεσθει τοις πόλεις ἢ ἀφορίαις καρπῶν
 ἢ πολέμῳ, ἔτι καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἀργοῦ τῆς γῆς
 γιγνομένης καὶ εἰς ἐπιτήδεια καὶ εἰς ἐπικούρους
 νομίσματος δέονται.

10 Εἴ δέ τις φήσειε καὶ χρυσίον μηδὲν ἡττον χρήσι-
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many yoke of oxen are enough for the farm and how many labourers To put more on the land than the requisite number is counted loss In mining undertakings, on the contrary, everyone tells you that he is short of labour. Mining, in fact, is quite 6 different from other industries An increase in the number of coppersmiths, for example, produces a fall in the price of copper work, and the coppersmiths retire from business. The same thing happens in the iron trade Again, when corn and wine are abundant, the crops are cheap, and the profit derived from growing them disappears, so that many give up farming and set up as merchants or shopkeepers or money-lenders. But an increase in the amount of the silver ore discovered and of the metal won is accompanied by an increase in the number of persons who take up this industry Neither is silver like furniture, of 7 which a man never buys more when once he has got enough for his house No one ever yet possessed so much silver as to want no more, if a man finds himself with a huge amount of it, he takes as much pleasure in burying the surplus as in using it.

Mark too that, whenever states are prosperous, 8 silver is in strong demand The men will spend money on fine arms and good horses and magnificent houses and establishments, and the women go in for expensive clothes and gold jewelry If, on the other 9 hand, the body politic is diseased owing to failure of the harvest or to war, the land goes out of cultivation and there is a much more insistent demand for cash to pay for food and mercenaries

If anyone says that gold is quite as useful as 10

μον εὖ αι ἡ ἀργύριον, τούτῳ¹ μὲν οὐκ ἀντιλέγω,
ἐκεῖο μειτοι οἶδα, ὅτι καὶ χρυσίον σταν τολὺ²
ταραφανῆ, αὐτὸ μὲν ἀτιμότερον γίγνεται, τὸ δὲ
ἀργύριον τιμιώτερον τοιεῖ.

- 11 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἔδήλωσα τούτου ἔιεκα, ὅτως
θαρροῦντες μὲν ὅτι τλείσθους ἀιθρώθους ἐπὶ τὰ
ἀργύρεια ἄγωμεν, θαρροῦντες δὲ κατασκευαζόμεθα
εἰ αὐτοῖς, ως οὗτε ἐτιλειψούσης τοτὲ ἀργυρίτιδος
12 οὗτε τοῦ ἀργυρίου ἀτίμου τοτὲ ἐσομέτου δοκεῖ
δέ μοι καὶ ἡ τόλις τροτέρα ἐμοῦ ταῦτα ἔγνωκέται
ταρέχει γοῦν ἐπὶ ισοτελείᾳ καὶ τῷ ξένων τῷ
βουλομέτῳ ἐργάζεσθαι ἐν τοῖς μετάλλοις
13 "Ια δὲ καὶ σαφέστερον τερὶ τῆς τροφῆς εἴτε,
νῦν διηγήσομαι, ως κατασκευασθέντα τὰ ἀργύρεια
ώφελιμώτατ' ἀν εἴη τῇ τόλει ἀτὰν μὲν οὖν
ἔγωγε ἀφ' ὧν μέλλω λέγειν οὐδέτι τι ἀξιῶ θαυμάζε
σθαι ως δυσεύρετόν τι ἔξευρηκώς τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὧν
λέξω καὶ νῦν ἔτι τάντες ὄρῶμεν, τὰ δὲ ταροιχό-
μενα παρὰ τῶν τατέρων³ κατὰ ταῦτα ἀκοίομεν⁴
14 τῆς μέντοι τόλεως τάις ἄξιον θαυμάσαι τὸ αἰσθα-
νομένην τολλοὺς τλουτιζομέτους ἔξι αὐτῆς ἴδιώτας
μὴ μιμεῖσθαι τούτους τάλαι μὲν γὰρ δήτου οἷς
μεμεληκεν ἀκηκόαμεν, ὅτι Νικίας τοτὲ ὁ Νικηράτου
ἐκτήσατο ἐν τοῖς ἀργυρείοις χιλίους ἀνθρωπους,
οὓς ἐκεῖος Σωσίᾳ τῷ Θρακι έξεμίσθωσεν ἐφ' ὃ
διβολὸν μὲν ἀτελῆ ἔκαστου τῆς ἡμέρας ἀποδιδόναι,
15 τὸν δ' ἀριθμὸν ἵσους ἀεὶ ταρέχειν⁴ ἐγένετο δὲ
καὶ Ἰτονίκω ἔξακόσια ἀνδράποδα κατὰ τὸν
αὐτὸν τρόπον τούτον ἐκδεδομένα, ἀτροσέφερε μνᾶν

¹ τουτῷ Heindorf τούτῳ S with the MSS

² ταρα τῶν τατέρων Wilamowitz τάττων MSS : τῶν τραγ-
μάτων S with the Aldine

silver, I am not going to contradict him; but I know this, that when gold is plentiful, silver rises and gold falls in value

With these facts before us, we need not hesitate 11 to bring as much labour as we can get into the mines and carry on work in them, feeling confident that the ore will never give out and that silver will never lose its value I think, indeed, that the 12 state has anticipated me in this discovery, at any rate she throws open the mining industry to foreigners on the same terms as are granted to citizens

To make myself clearer on the subject of alimony, 13 I will now explain how the mines may be worked with the greatest advantage to the state Not that I expect to surprise you by what I am going to say, as if I had found the solution of a difficult problem For some things that I shall mention are still to be seen by anyone at the present day, and as for conditions in the past, our fathers have told us that they were similar But what may well excite 14 surprise is that the state, being aware that many private individuals are making money out of her, does not imitate them Those of us who have given thought to the matter have heard long ago, I imagine, that Nicias son of Niceratus, once owned a thousand men in the mines, and let them out to Sosias the Thracian, on condition that Sosias paid him an *obol* a day per man net and filled all vacancies as they occurred Hippoönus, again, had 15 six hundred slaves let out on the same terms and

* ταῦτα ἀν M ταῦτα αὐτὰ S with other MSS

* παρέχειν Lenklau παρεῖχεν S. with the MSS.

πῶς καὶ φωράσειεν ἂν τις τὸ δημόσιον ἔξαγόμενον,
όμοίου τοῦ ἴδιου ὄντος αὐτῷ; ἀνδράποδα δὲ
σεσημασμένα τῷ δημοσίῳ σημάντρῳ καὶ προκει-
μένης ζημίας τῷ τε πωλοῦντι καὶ τῷ ἔξαγοντι, πῶς
ἄν τις ταῦτα κλέψειεν;

Οὐκοῦν μέχρι μὲν τούτου δυνατὸν φανεῖται τῇ
πόλει εἶναι τὸ ἀνθρώπους καὶ κτήσασθαι καὶ
22 φυλάξαι. εἰ δ' αὖ τις τοῦτ' ἐνθυμεῖται, πῶς
ἐπειδὴν πολλοὶ ἔργάται γένωνται, πολλοὶ φα-
νοῦνται καὶ οἱ μισθωσόμενοι, ἐκεῖνο κατανοήσας
θαρρείτω, ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν κατεσκευασμένων
προσμισθώσονται τοὺς δημοσίους, πολλὰ γάρ ἐστι
τὰ ὑπάρχοντα, πολλοὶ δ' εἰσὶ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐν
τοῖς ἔργοις γηρασκόντες,¹ πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι
'Αθηναῖοι τε καὶ ξένοι, οἱ τῷ σώματι μὲν οὔτε
βούλοιντ' ἄν οὔτε δύναιντ' ἄν ἔργάζεσθαι, τῇ δὲ
γνώμῃ ἐπιμελούμενοι ἡδέως ἄν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια
πορίζοιντο.

23 “Ην γε μέντοι τὸ πρῶτον συστῆ διακόσια καὶ
χίλια ἀνδράποδα, εἰκὸς ἡδη ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς προσόδου
ἐν ἔτεσι πέντε ἡ ἔξι μὴ μεῖον ἀν τῶν² ἔξακισχιλίων
γενέσθαι. ἀπό γε μὴν τούτου τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ ἦν
24 ὁβολὸν ἕκαστος ἀτελῆ τῆς ἡμέρας φέρη, ἡ μὲν
πρόσοδος ἔξήκοντα τάλαντα τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ. ἀπὸ
δὲ τούτων ἦν εἰς ἄλλα ἀνδράποδα τιθῆται εἴκοσι,
τοῖς τετταράκοντα ἡδη ἔξέσται τῇ πόλει χρῆσθαι
εἰς ἄλλο ὅ τι ἀν δέη. ὅταν δέ γε μύρια ἀναπλη-
ρωθῆ, ἕκατὸν τάλαντα ἡ πρόσοδος ἔσται.

25 “Οτι δὲ δέξεται πολλαπλάσια τούτων, μαρτυρή-
σαιεν ἄν μοι εἴ τινες ἔτι εἰσὶ τῶν μεμνημένων,
ὅσον τὸ τέλος εὑρισκε τῶν ἀνδραπόδων πρὸ τῶν

¹ γηρασκόντες Dindorf: γηρασκόντων S. with the MSS.

the export of public money? Money looks the same whether it is private property or belongs to the state. But how is a man to steal slaves when they are branded with the public mark and it is a penal offence to sell or export them?

So far, then, it appears to be possible for the state to acquire and to keep men. But, one may ask, when 22 labour is abundant, how will a sufficient number of persons be found to hire it? Well, if anyone feels doubtful about that, let him comfort himself with the thought that many men in the business will hire the state slaves as additional hands, since they have abundance of capital, and that among those now working in the mines many are growing old. Moreover there are many others, both Athenians and foreigners, who have neither will nor strength to work with their own hands, but would be glad to make a living by becoming managers.

Assume, however, that the total number of slaves 23 to begin with is twelve hundred. By using the revenue derived from these the number might in all probability be raised to six thousand at the least in the course of five or six years. Further, if each man brings in a clear *obol* a day, the annual revenue derived from that number of men is sixty *talents*. Out of this sum, if twenty *talents* are invested in 24 additional slaves, the state will have forty *talents* available for any other necessary purpose. And when a total of ten thousand men is reached, the revenue will be a hundred *talents*.

But the state will receive far more than that, as 25 anyone will testify who is old enough to remember how much the charge for slave labour brought in

* *As far* Wilamowitz. *as far* S. with the MSS

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δῆλον ὅτι λυσιτελέστερα ἀν τὰ ἔργα ταῦτα γίγνοιτο.

Τό γε μὴν πάσας ἀποτυχεῖν οὐδενὶ τῶν παρελη-
 32 λυθότων ἐοικός. οἱόν τε δὴ οὕτως καὶ ἴδιώτας συν-
 ισταμένους καὶ κοινουμένους τὴν τύχην ἀσφαλέ-
 στερον κινδυνεύειν. μηδὲν μέντοι τοῦτο φοβεῖσθε,
 ώς ἡ τὸ δημόσιον οὕτω κατασκευαζόμενον παραλυ-
 πήσει τοὺς ἴδιώτας ἡ οἵ ἴδιώται τὸ δημόσιον· ἀλλ'
 ὥσπερ σύμμαχοι ὅσῳ ἀν πλείους συνιώσιν, ἵσχυ-
 ροτέρους ἀλλήλους ποιοῦσιν, οὕτω καὶ ἐν τοῖς
 ἀργυρείοις ὅσῳπερ ἀν πλείους ἔργαζωνται, τόσῳ
 πλείονα τάγαθὰ εύρησονσί τε καὶ ἐκφορήσουσι.¹

33 Καὶ ἐμοὶ μὲν δὴ εἴρηται, ώς ἀν ἡγοῦμαι κατα-
 σκευασθείσης τῆς πόλεως ἱκανὴν ἀν πᾶσιν Ἀθη-
 34 ναίοις τροφὴν ἀπὸ κοινοῦ γενέσθαι. εἰ δέ τινες
 λογιζόμενοι παμπόλλης ἀν δεῖν ἀφορμῆς εἰς
 ταῦτα πάντα οὐχ ἡγοῦνται ἱκανὰ ἀν ποτε χρήματα
 35 εἰσενεχθῆναι, μηδὲ οὕτως ἀθυμούντων. οὐ γάρ
 οὕτως ἔχει, ώς ἀνάγκη ἄμα πάντα ταῦτα
 γίγνεσθαι, ἡ μηδὲν ὄφελος αὐτῶν εἶναι· ἀλλ'
 ὅπόσα ἀν ἡ οἰκοδομηθῆ ἡ ναυπηγηθῆ ἡ ἀνδράποδα
 36 ὠνηθῆ, εὐθὺς ταῦτα ἐν ὠφελείᾳ ἔσται. ἀλλὰ
 μὴν καὶ τῇδέ γε συμφορώτερον τὸ κατὰ μέρος ἡ
 τὸ ἄμα πάντα πράττεσθαι. οἰκοδομοῦντες μὲν
 γὰρ ἀθρόοι πολυτελέστερον ἀν καὶ κάκιον ἡ
 κατὰ μέρος ἀποτελοῦμεν· ἀνδράποδα δὲ παμπληθῆ
 ξητοῦντες ἀναγκαζοίμεθ' ἀν καὶ χείρω καὶ τιμιώ-
 τερα ὠνεῖσθαι.

¹ ἐκφορήσουσι Cobet: φορήσουσι B. with the MSS.

three, four, or half the tribes found, the profits from these works would obviously be greater

Nothing that has happened in the past makes it probable that all would fail to find Of course, 32 private individuals also are able to combine on this principle and pool their fortunes in order to diminish the risk. Nevertheless there is no reason to fear that a public company formed on this plan will conflict with the interests of private persons, or be hampered by them No, just as every new adhesion to a confederacy brings an increase of strength to all its members, so the greater the number of persons operating in the mines, the more treasure they will discover and unearth

I have now explained what regulations I think 33 should be introduced into the state in order that every Athenian may receive sufficient maintenance at the public expense Some may imagine that 34 enough money would never be subscribed to provide the huge amount of capital necessary, according to their calculations, to finance all these schemes But even so they need not despair For it is not 35 essential that the plan should be carried out in all its details in order that any advantage may come of it No, whatever the number of houses built, or of ships constructed, or of slaves purchased, they will immediately prove a paying concern In 36 fact in one respect it will be even more profitable to proceed gradually than to do everything at once For if everybody begins building, we shall pay more for worse work than if we carry out the undertaking gradually; and if we try to find an enormous number of slaves, we shall be forced to buy inferior men at a high price.

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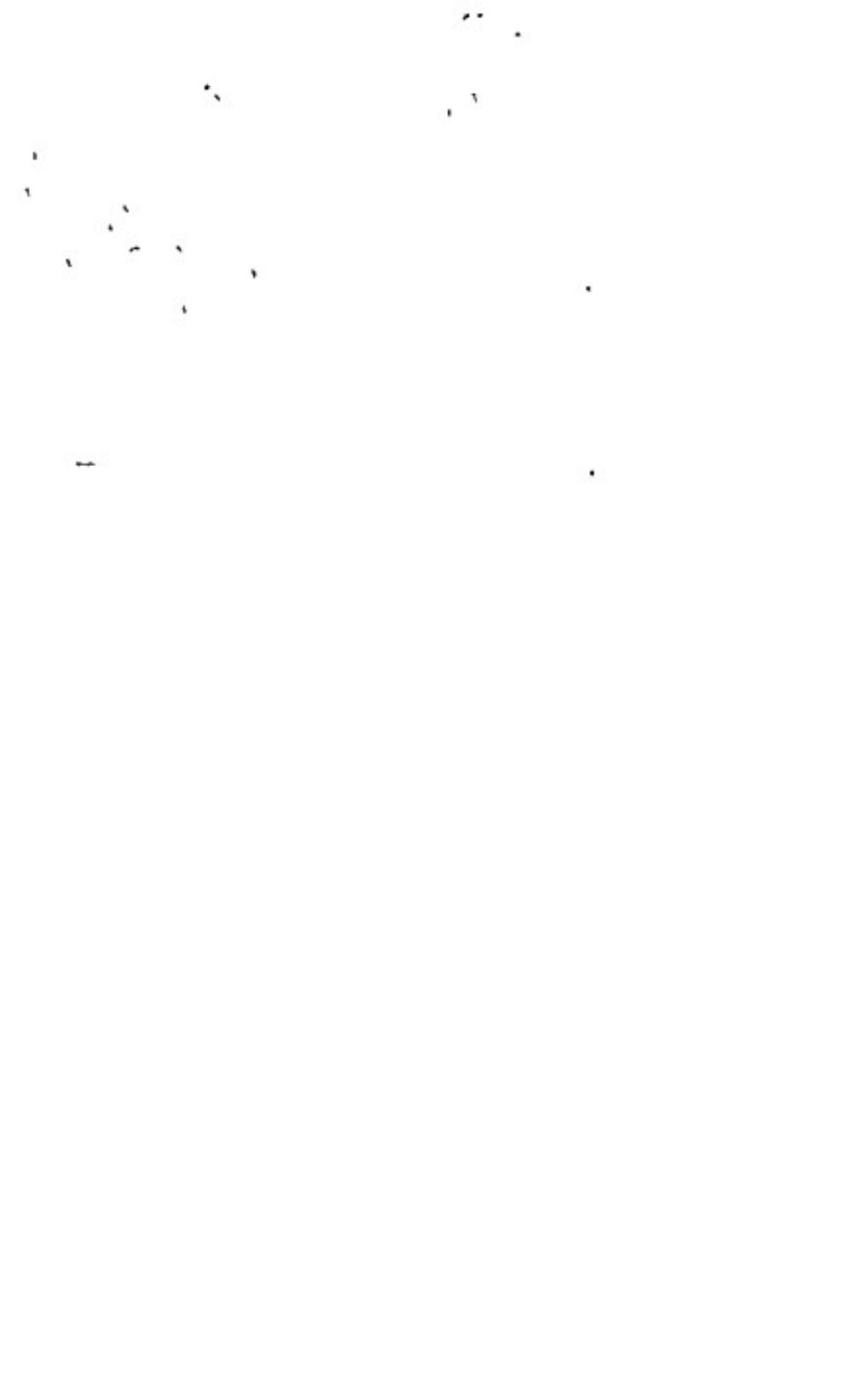
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- σάντων, ὅτι τούτων γιγνομένων πολὺ φοβερώτερος
 42 ὁ πόλεμος τοῖς ἐπιφέρουσιν ἢ τῇ πόλει. τί γὰρ
 δὴ εἰς πόλεμον κτῆμα χρησιμώτερον ἀνθρώπων;
 πολλὰς μὲν γὰρ ναῦς πληροῦν ἴκανοὶ ἀν εἰεν
 δημοσίᾳ· πολλοὶ δ' ἀν καὶ πεζοὶ δημοσίᾳ δύναιντ'
 ἀν βαρεῖς εἶναι τοῖς πολεμίοις, εἴ τις αὐτοὺς
 θεραπεύοι.
- 43 Λογίζομαι δ' ἔγωγε καὶ πολέμου γιγνομένου
 οἶν τ' εἶναι μὴ ἐκλείπεσθαι τὰ ἀργύρεια. ἔστι
 μὲν γὰρ δήπου περὶ τὰ μέταλλα ἐν τῇ πρὸς
 μεσημβρίαν¹ τεῖχος ἐν Ἀναφλύστῳ, ἔστι δ' ἐν
 τῇ πρὸς ἄρκτον τεῖχος ἐν Θορικῷ· ἀπέχει δὲ
 ταῦτα ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἀμφὶ τὰ ἔξηκοντα στάδια.
- 44 εἰ οὖν καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τούτων γένοιτο ἐπὶ τῷ ὑψη-
 λοτάτῳ Βήσης τρίτον ἔρυμα, συνήκοι τ' ἀν τὰ ἔργα
 εἰς ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν τειχῶν, καὶ εἴ τι αἰσθάνοιτο
 πολεμικόν, βραχὺ ἀν εἴη ἔκαστῳ εἰς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς
 45 ἀποχωρῆσαι. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἔλθοιεν πλείους πολέμιοι,
 δῆλον ὅτι εἰ μὲν σῖτον ἢ οἶνον ἢ πρόβατα ἔξω
 εῦροιεν, ἀφέλοιντ' ἀν ταῦτα· ἀργυρίτιδος δὲ κρα-
 τίσαντες τί ἀν μᾶλλον ἢ λίθοις ἔχοιεν χρῆσθαι;
- 46 πῶς δὲ καὶ ὄρμήσειαν ἀν ποτε πολέμιοι πρὸς τὰ
 μέταλλα; ἀπέχει μὲν γὰρ δήπου τῶν ἀργυρείων
 ἡ ἐγγύτατα πόλις Μέγαρα πολὺ πλεῖον τῶν
 τεντακοσίων σταδίων ἀπέχει δὲ ἡ μετὰ ταῦτα
 -λησιαίτατα Θῆβαι πολὺ πλεῖον τῶν ἔξακοσίων.
 47 ἵνοιν πορεύωνται ἐντεῦθέν ποθεν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀργύρεια.

¹ E. with the MSS. adds οὐλάττη which Bergk saw to be
 οὐλάτης.

should observe that, with this system at work, war becomes far more formidable to the aggressors than to the city. For what instrument is more serviceable for war than men? We should have enough of them to supply crews to many ships of the state; and many men available for service in the ranks as infantry could press the enemy hard, if they were treated with consideration.¹

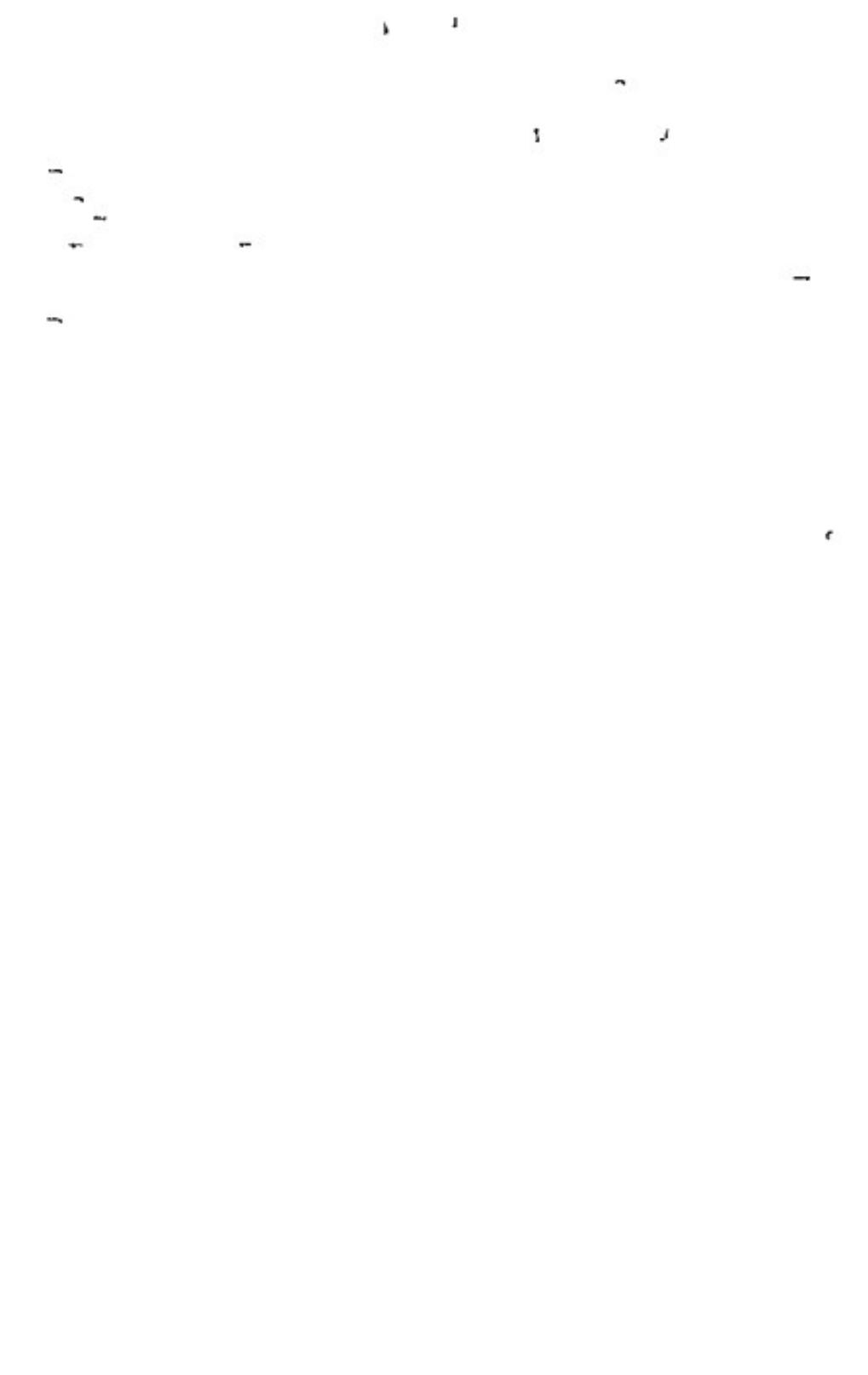
But I reckon that, even in the event of war, the mines need not be abandoned. There are, of course, two fortresses in the mining district, one at Anaphlystus on the south side, the other at Thoricus on the north. The distance between them is about seven miles and a half. Now suppose that we had a third stronghold between them on the highest point of Besa. The works² would then be linked up by all the fortresses, and at the first intimation of a hostile movement, every man would have but a short distance to go in order to reach safety. In case an enemy came in force, he would, no doubt, seize any corn or wine or cattle that he found outside, but the silver ore, when he had got it, would be of as much use to him as a heap of stones. And how could an enemy ever go for the mines? The distance between Megara, the nearest city, and the silver mines, is of course much more than five hundred furlongs, and Thebes, which is next in proximity, lies at a distance of much more than six hundred furlongs from them. Let us assume, then, that an enemy is marching on the mines from some such point.

¹ Observe that Xenophon alludes here not to the resident aliens but to the state-owned slaves in the mines.

² Or, as some understand, 'the workmen would gather from all the fortresses into one.'

13. *Problems* — *Solutions* — *Exercises* — *Answers*

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.	17.	18.	19.	20.	21.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.	27.	28.	29.	30.	31.	32.	33.	34.	35.	36.	37.	38.	39.	40.	41.	42.	43.	44.	45.	46.	47.	48.	49.	50.	51.	52.	53.	54.	55.	56.	57.	58.	59.	60.	61.	62.	63.	64.	65.	66.	67.	68.	69.	70.	71.	72.	73.	74.	75.	76.	77.	78.	79.	80.	81.	82.	83.	84.	85.	86.	87.	88.	89.	90.	91.	92.	93.	94.	95.	96.	97.	98.	99.	100.
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τοιεν¹ ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις τὴν τροφὴν ἀπολαμβάνοντες πλείω ἢ ἐν ταῖς λαμπάσι γυμνασιαρχούμενοι οἱ τε φρουρεῖν ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις οἱ τε πελτάζειν καὶ περιπολεῖν τὴν χώραν πάντα ταῦτα μᾶλλον ἀν πράττοιεν, ἐφ' ἐκάστοις τῶν ἔργων τῆς τροφῆς ἀποδίδομένης.

V. Εἰ δὲ σαφὲς δοκεῖ εἶναι, ὡς εἰ μέλλουσι πᾶσαι αἱ πρόσοδοι ἐκ πόλεως προσιέναι, εἰρήνην δεῖ ὑπάρχειν, ἅρ' οὐκ ἄξιον καὶ εἰρηνοφύλακας καθιστάσαι; πολὺ γάρ ἀν καὶ αὕτη αἰρεθεῖσα ἡ ἀρχὴ προσφιλεστέραν καὶ πυκνοτέραν εἰσαφικνεῖσθαι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ποιήσειε τὴν πόλιν.

2 εἰ δέ τινες οὗτω γιγνώσκουσιν, ὡς ἐὰν ἡ πόλις εἰρήνην ἄγουσσα διατελῇ, ἀδυνατωτέρα τε καὶ ἀδοξοτέρα καὶ ἥττον ὄνομαστὴ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἔσται, καὶ οὗτοί γε ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ² παραλόγως σκοποῦσιν. εὑδαιμονέσταται μὲν γάρ δῆπον πόλεις λέγονται, αἱν ἀν πλεῦστον χρόνον ἐν εἰρήνῃ διατελῶσι πασῶν δὲ πόλεων Ἀθῆναι μᾶλιστα

3 πεφύκασιν ἐν εἰρήνῃ αὖξεσθαι. τίνες γάρ ἡσυχίαν ἀγούσης τῆς πόλεως οὐ προσδέοιντ' ἀν αὐτῆς ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ ναυκλήρων καὶ ἐμπόρων; οὐχ οἱ πολύσιτοι, οὐχ οἱ πολύοινοι,³ τί δὲ οἱ πολυέλαιοι, τί δὲ οἱ πολυπρόβατοι, οἱ δὲ γυνώμη καὶ ἀργυρίφ

4 δυνάμενοι χρηματίζεσθαι, καὶ μὴν χειροτέχναι τε καὶ σοφισταὶ καὶ φιλόσοφοι, οἱ δὲ ποιηταὶ, οἱ δὲ τὰ τούτων μεταχειριζόμενοι, οἱ δὲ ἀξιοθεάτων ἡ ἀξιακούστων ἵερῶν ἡ ὁσίων ἐπιθυμοῦντες; ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ οἱ δεόμενοι πολλὰ ταχὺ ἀποδίδοσθαι ἡ

¹ τοῦτο πράττοιεν οἱ πράττοιεν MSS.: πράττοιεν τὰ B. with Lenklau.

they receive their maintenance in full than they take under the superintendents of the torch races,¹ and the classes on garrison duty in a fortress, or serving as targeteers, or patrolling the country will show greater alacrity in carrying out all these duties when the maintenance is duly supplied for the work done

V. If it seems clear that the state cannot obtain a full revenue from all sources unless she has peace, is it not worth while to set up a board of guardians of peace? Were such a board constituted, it would help to increase the popularity of the city and to make it more attractive and more densely thronged with visitors from all parts. If any are inclined to think that a lasting peace for our city will involve a loss of her power and glory and fame in Greece, they too, in my opinion, are out in their calculations. For I presume that those states are reckoned the happiest that enjoy the longest period of unbroken peace, and of all states Athens is by nature most suited to flourish in peace. For if the state is tranquil, what class of men will not need her? Shipowners and merchants will head the list. Then there will be those rich in corn and wine and oil and cattle, men possessed of brains and money to invest, craftsmen and professors and philosophers, poets and the people who make use of their works, those to whom anything sacred or secular appeals that is worth seeing or hearing. Besides, where will those who want to buy or sell

¹ *πλ.*

the upkeep of the competitions. In difficult times

² *ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ* Castalio. *ἐμῆς δέηται* S with the MSS.

³ S retains *οὐχ* of *ηδόναις*, after *πολυνοίων* with the MSS.

1
2

3
4

5
6
7

8

9
10

ἐπ' ἐκείνους, οἵτις εἰς ἐκλεῖ-όντων Φακέων τὸ ἱερὸν
 10 καταλαμβάνειν τειρῆτο.¹ εἰ δὲ καὶ ὅπως ἀνὰ
 πᾶσαι γῆν καὶ θάλατταν εἰρήνη ἔσται, φαιεροὶ²
 εἶητε ἐπιμελόμενοι, ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι τάντας ἀν
 εὔχεσθαι μετὰ τὰς ἑαυτῶν τατρίδας Ἀθήνας
 μάλιστα σώζεσθαι.

11 Εἰ δέ τις αὐτὸς εἰς χρήματα κερδαλεώτερον
 νομίζει εἶαι τῇ τόλει τόλεμον ἢ εἰρήνην, ἐγὼ
 μὲν οὐκ οἶδα, τῶς ἀν ἄμεινον ταῦτα κριθείη ἢ
 εἴ τις τὰ τρογεγενημένα ἐτανασκοτοίη³ τῇ τόλει
 12 πῶς ἀποβέβηκεν. εύρήσει γὰρ τότε ταλαιὸν ἐν
 εἰρήνῃ μὲν τάνυ πολλὰ χρήματα εἰς τὴν πόλιν
 ἀνενεχθέντα, ἐν τολέμῳ δὲ ταῦτα τάντα κατα-
 δαπανηθέντα· γνώσεται δέ, ἣν σκοτῆ, καὶ ἐν τῷ
 νῦν χρόνῳ διὰ μὲν τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τῶν τροσόδων
 πολλὰς ἐκλιπούσας καὶ τὰς εἰσελθουσας εἰς
 παντοδαπὰ⁴ καταδαπανηθείσας ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰρήνη
 κατὰ θάλατταν γεγένηται, ηὔξημέιας τε τὰς
 προσόδους καὶ ταύταις ἔξδυ τοῖς πολίταις
 χρῆσθαι ὅ τι βούλοιντο.

13 Εἰ δέ τις με ἐπερωτώῃ, Ἡ καὶ ἄν τις ἀδικῇ
 τὴν πόλιν, λέγεις, ως χρή καὶ πρὸς τοῦτον
 εἰρήνην ἄγειν, οὐκ ἀν φαίην ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον
 λέγω, ὅτι πολὺ θâττον ἀν τιμωροίμεθα αὐτούς,
 εἰ μηδένα ὑπάρχοιμεν ἀδικοῦντες⁵ οὐδένα γὰρ
 ἀν ἔχοιεν σύμμαχον

VI. Ἄλλ' εἴ γε μὴν τῶν εἰρημένων ἀδύνατον
 μὲν μηδέν ἔστι μηδὲ χαλεπόν, πραττομένων δὲ

¹ πειρῆτο Madvig ἀπειρῶντο S with the MSS.

² ἐτανασκοτοίη Dindorf. ἔτι ἀνασκοτοίη S with the MSS

³ παντοδαπὰ Lenklau παντοδαπὰ πολλὰ S with the MSS

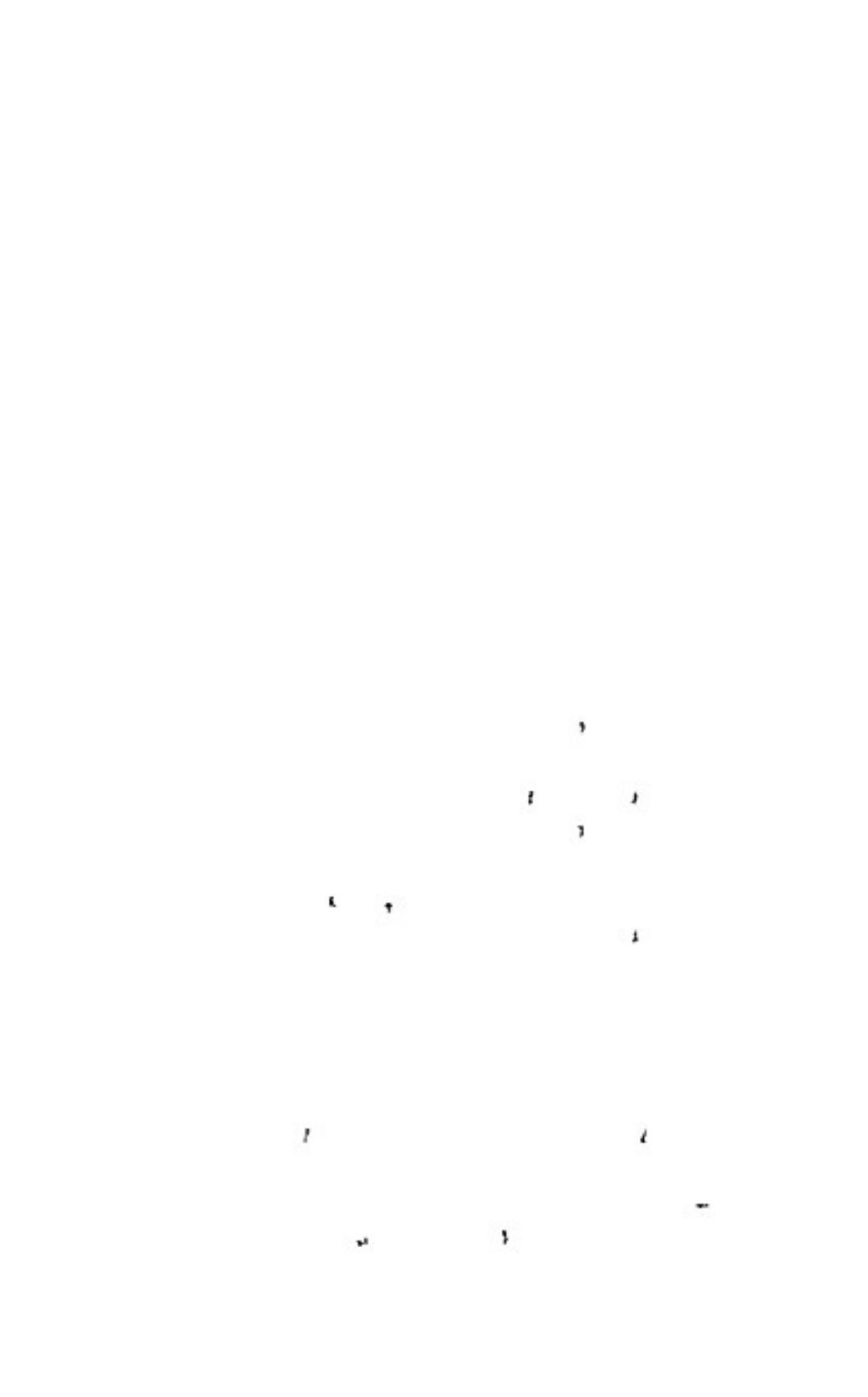
against any that attempted to seize the shrine in the event of the Phocians abandoning it. Were you to show also that you are striving for peace in every land and on every sea, I do think that, next to the safety of their own country, all men would put the safety of Athens first in their prayers.

If, on the other hand, any one supposes that financially war is more profitable to the state than peace, I really do not know how the truth of this can be tested better than by considering once more what has been the experience of our state in the past. He will find that in old days a very great amount of money was paid into the treasury in time of peace, and that the whole of it was spent in time of war, he will conclude on consideration that in our own time the effect of the late war on our revenues was that many of them ceased, while those that came in were exhausted by the multitude of expenses, whereas the cessation of war by sea has been followed by a rise in the revenues, and has allowed the citizens to devote them to any purpose they choose.

But some one may ask me, Do you mean to say that, even if she is wronged, the state should remain at peace with the offender? No, certainly not, but I do say that our vengeance would follow far more swiftly on our enemies if we provoked nobody by wrong doing, for then they would look in vain for an ally.

VI Well now, surely, if none of these proposals is impossible or even difficult, if by carrying them into

* *υνδρχοιμεν άδικοντες* Cobet *παρέχοιμεν άδικουντα* S with the MSS





THE CAVALRY COMMANDER

5 Τῶν γε μήν ἵππων ὑπαρχόντων οἵων δεῖ τοὺς
ἰππέας αὐτοὺς ἀσκητέοι, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτας ἐπὶ τοὺς
ἱππους ἀγατηδᾶν δύιωνται τολλοῖς γὰρ ἥδη ἡ
σωτηρία ταρὰ τοῦτο ἐγένετο· δεύτερον δὲ ὅτας
ἐν ταυτοίοις χωρίοις ἵππάζεσθαι δυνήσονται καὶ
γὰρ οἱ πόλεμοι ἄλλοτε ἐν ἄλλοίοις τόποις γίγον-
6 ται. ὅταν δὲ ἥδη ἐποχοι ὦσι, δεῖ αὖ σκοτεῖσθαι,
ὅπως ἀκοιτιοῦσί τε ὡς πλεῖστοι ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων
καὶ τάλλα δυνήσονται ποιεῖν ἢ δεῖ τοὺς ἵππικούς.

7 Μετὰ ταῦτα ὁπλιστέον καὶ ἵππους καὶ ἵππέας,
ώς αὐτοὶ μὲν ἥκιστα τιτρώσκοιντ' ἄν, βλάπτειν
δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους μάλιστα δύιαιντ' ἄν. ἐκ τού-
των παρασκευαστέον, ὅπως εὔτειθεῖς οἱ ἄνδρες
ῶσιν· ἄνευ γὰρ τούτου οὕθ' ἵππων ἀγαθῶν οὔτε
ἵππέων ἐπόχων οὔτε ὅπλων καλῶν ὅφελος οὐδέν.

8 Προστατεύειν μὲν οὖν τούτων πάντων ὅτως
καλῶς γίγνηται τὸν ἵππαρχον εἰκός ἐστιν. ἐπεὶ
δὲ καὶ ἡ πόλις χαλεπὸν ἡγησαμένη ταῦτα πάντα
τὸν ἵππαρχον μόνον δυτα κατεργάζεσθαι προσα-
ρεῖται μὲν αὐτῷ συνεργοὺς φυλάρχους, προσέ-
ταξε δὲ τῇ βουλῇ συνεπιμελεῖσθαι τοῦ ἵππικοῦ,
ἀγαθόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι τοὺς μὲν φυλάρχους
παρασκευάζειν συνεπιθυμεῖν σοι τῶν καλῶν τῷ
ἵππικῷ, ἐν δὲ τῇ βουλῇ ἔχειν ῥήτορας ἐπιτη-
δείους, ὅπως λέγοντες φοβῶσί τε τοὺς ἵππέας,

¹ A difficult feat, since the Greek rider had no stirrups.

² When attacking infantry in line the cavalry never charged home; but only approached near enough to throw

Having made sure that the horses are in good 5 condition, the next business is to train the men First they must learn to mount from the spring,¹ since many before now have owed their lives to that Secondly, they must practise riding over all sorts of ground, since any kind of country may become the area of war As soon as they have acquired a 6 firm seat, your next task is to take steps that as many as possible shall be able to throw the javelin when mounted² and shall become efficient in all the details of horsemanship

After that both horses and men must be armed, so that, while they are themselves thoroughly protected against wounds, they may have the means of inflicting the greatest loss on the enemy Then you 7 must contrive to make the men obedient otherwise neither good horses nor a firm seat nor fine armour are of any use

For ensuring efficiency in all these matters the cavalry commander, as a matter of course, is the principal authority But, at the same time, the state 8 thinks it difficult for the cavalry commander to carry out all these duties single handed, therefore, it also elects colonels of regiments to assist him, and it has charged the Council with the duty of taking a share in the management of the cavalry I think it well, then, that you should encourage the colonels to be as eager as yourself for the efficiency of the cavalry, and should have suitable spokesmen in the Council, that their speeches may alarm the men—they will do better under the influence of fear—and the javelin with effect Hence the importance attached to an accomplishment by no means easy to perform without stirrups See especially the next treatise, c. xii

XENOPHON

14 καὶ τὸν βιαίους δ' ἵππους ἀγαθόν μοι δοκεῖ
εἶναι προρρηθῆναι ὅτι ἀποδοκιμασθήσονται.
αὗτη γάρ η ἀπειλὴ πωλεύειν¹ ἀν τὸν τοιούτους
μᾶλλον παρορμήσειε καὶ ἵππωνεν σωφρονέ-
στερον. ἀγαθὸν δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐν ταῖς ἵππασίαις
λακτίζοντας ἵππους προρρηθῆναι ὅτι ἀποδοκι-
μασθήσονται· οὐδὲ γάρ συντάττειν τὸν τοιού-
τους δυνατόν, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη καν ποι ἐπὶ πολεμίους
δέη ἐλαύνειν, ὑστάτους αὐτοὺς ἔπεσθαι, ὥστε
διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἵππου κακουργίαν ἄχρηστος καὶ ὁ
ἵππεὺς καθίσταται.

16 'Ως δ' ἀν καὶ οἱ πόδες εἰεν τῶν ἵππων κρά-
τιστοι, εἴ μέν τις ἔχει ράω καὶ εὔτελεστέραν
ἀσκησιν, ἐκείνη ἔστω· εἰ δὲ μή, ἐγώ φημι χρῆναι
πεῖραν ἔχων χύδην καταβαλόντα λίθους τῶν ἐκ
τῆς ὁδοῦ ὅσον μναίους καὶ πλεῖον καὶ μεῖον ἐν
τούτοις τὸν ἵππον ψήχειν καὶ ἐνιστάναι, ὅταν
ἀπὸ τῆς φάτνης ἀποβῇ. βαδίζων γάρ ἐν τοῖς
λίθοις οὕποτε ὁ ἵππος παύσεται οὐθ' ὅταν ψήχη-
ται οὐθ' ὅταν μυωπίζηται. ὁ δὲ πειραθεὶς τά-
τε ἄλλα, ἢ λέγω, πιστεύσει καὶ στρογγύλους
τὸν πόδας τῶν ἵππων ὅψεται.

17 'Οπότε γε μὴν οἱ ἵπποι εἰσὶν οἶους δεῖ, ὡς ἀν αὐτοὶ¹
οἱ ἵππεὺς ἄριστοι γίγνοντο, τοῦτο διηγήσομας.

Τὸ μὲν τοίνυν τὸν νέους αὐτῶν ἀναπηδᾶν ἐπὶ¹
τὸν ἵππους πείθοιμεν ἀν αὐτοὺς μανθάνειν· τὸν
διδάξοντα δὲ παρασχὼν ἐπαίνου δικαίως ἀν
τυγχάνοις. τούς γε μὴν πρεσβυτέρους τὸν Περ-
σικὸν τρόπον ἀναβάλλεσθαι ὑπ' ἄλλων προσε-
θίσας καὶ τούτους ὠφελήσαις ἄν.

¹ πωλεύειν Rühl: πωλεῖν S. with the MSS.

them. I think it would be well, too, if notice were given that vicious horses would be rejected. Under the stimulus of this threat men would break in such animals more thoroughly and would be more careful in buying horses. Again, it would be well to give notice that horses found kicking at exercise will be rejected. For it is impossible even to keep such animals in line; in a charge against an enemy they are bound to lag behind, and the consequence is, that through the bad behaviour of his horse, the man himself becomes useless.

For getting horses' feet into the best condition,¹ if anyone has an easier and cheaper method than mine, by all means adopt it. If not, I hold—and I speak from experience—that the right way is to throw down some stones from the road, averaging about a pound in weight, and to curry the horse on these and to make him stand on them whenever he goes out of the stable. For the horse will constantly use his feet on the stones when he is cleaned and when he is worried by flies. Try it, and you will find your horses' feet round, and will believe in the rest of my rules.

Assuming that the horses are in good condition,¹⁷ I will explain how to make the men themselves thoroughly efficient.

We would persuade the young recruits to learn for themselves how to mount from the spring; but if you provide an instructor, you will receive well-merited praise. The way to help the older men is to accustom them to get a leg-up in the Persian fashion.

¹ Horse-shoes being unknown; cf. the following treatise, c. iv.

- 18 "Οπως γε μὴν ἐν παντοδαποῖς χωρίοις ἔπεχοι
οἱ ἵππεῖς δυνήσονται εἶναι, τὸ μὲν πυκνὰ ἔξαγειν
μὴ πολέμου ὄντος ἵσως ὀχληρόν συγκαλέσαντα
δὲ χρὴ τοὺς ἵππέας συμβουλεῦσαι αὐτοῖς μελε-
τᾶν, καὶ ὅταν εἰς χώραν ἐλαύνωσι καὶ ὅταν
ἄλλοσέ ποι, ἐκβιβάζοντας τῶν ὁδῶν καὶ ταχὺ^ν
ἐλαύνοντας ἐν τόποις παντοδαποῖς. τοῦτο γὰρ
ἀφελεῖ μὲν παραπλησίως τῷ ἔξαγειν, ὀχλον δ'
19 οὐχ ὅμοιον παρέχει. ἐπιτίδειον δὲ ὑπομιμή-
σκειν, ὅτι καὶ ἡ πόλις ἀνέχεται δαπανῶσα εἰς
τὸ ἵππικὸν ἐγγὺς τετταράκοντα τάλαντα τοῦ
ἐνιαυτοῦ, ὡς ἦν πόλεμος γίγνηται, μὴ ζητεῖν δέη
ἵππικόν, ἀλλ' ἔξ ἑτοίμου ἔχῃ παρεσκευασμένῳ
χρῆσθαι. ταῦτα γὰρ ἐνθυμουμένους εἴκος καὶ
τοὺς ἵππέας μᾶλλον ἀσκεῖν τὴν ἵππικήν, ὅπως
ἦν πόλεμος ἐγείρηται, μὴ ἀμελετήτους ὄντας
ἀγωνίζεσθαι δέη περὶ τε τῆς πόλεως καὶ περὶ²⁰
εὐκλείας καὶ περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς. ἀγαθὸν δὲ καὶ
τοῦτο προειπεῖν τοῖς ἵππεῦσιν, ὅτι ἔξαξεις καὶ
σύ ποτε αὐτοὺς καὶ διὰ παντοίων χωρίων ἥγήσει.
καὶ ἐν ταῖς μελέταις δὲ τῆς ἀνθεππασίας καλὸν
ἔξαγειν ἄλλοτε εἰς ἄλλοιον τόπον· καὶ γὰρ τοῖς
ἵππεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις βέλτιον.
21 'Ακοντίζειν γε μὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων ὡδ' ἀν-
πλεῖστοί μοι δοκοῦσι μελετᾶν, εἰ τοῦτ' αὖ προεί-
ποις τοῖς φυλάρχοις, ὅτι αὐτοὺς δεήσει ἥγου-
μένους τοῖς τῆς φυλῆς ἀκοντισταῖς ἐλαύνειν ἐπὶ^ν
τὸ ἀκόντιον. φιλοτιμῶντο γὰρ ἄν, οὐ εἴκος, ὡς

To ensure that the men have a firm seat, what- 18
 ever the nature of the ground, it is, perhaps, too
 much trouble to have them out frequently when
 there is no war going on, but you should call the men
 together, and recommend them to practise turning
 off the roads and galloping over all sorts of ground
 when they are riding to quarters or any other place.
 For this does as much good as taking them out, and
 it is less tedious. It is useful to remind them that 19
 the state supports an expenditure of nearly forty
 talents¹ a year in order that she may not have to
 look about for cavalry in the event of war, but
 may have it ready for immediate use. For with this
 thought in their minds the men are likely to take
 more pains with their horsemanship, so that when war
 breaks out they may not have to fight untrained for
 the state, for glory and for life. It is well also to 20
 give notice to the men that you intend to take
 them out yourself some day, and lead them over
 country of all kinds. And during the manœuvres
 that precede the sham fight it is proper to take
 them out to a different piece of country at different
 times. This is better for both men and horses.

As for throwing the javelin on horseback,² I think 21
 that the greatest number will practise that if you
 add a warning to the colonels that they will be required
 to ride to javelin exercise themselves at the head
 of the marksmen of the regiment. Thus, in all
 probability, everyone of them will be eager to turn

¹ Say £9 500, a large sum in those times. The pay is of course, alluded to. The expenditure would amount *daily* to nearly 666 drachmae. The cavalryman's normal pay was a drachma a day. Hence it looks as if the number of the cavalry in 365 B.C. had fallen to about 650.

² At a suspended shield.

πλείστους ἔκαστος ἀποδεῖξαι ἀκοντιστὰς τῷ πόλει.

- 22 Ὄλλα μὴν καὶ τοῦ καλῶς γε ὄπλισθῆναι τοὺς ἵππέας οἱ φύλαρχοι ἂν μοι δοκοῦσι μέγιστον συλλαμβάνειν, εἰ πεισθείησαν, ὅτι πολὺ ἐστὶ πρὸς τῆς πόλεως εὐδοξότερον τῷ τῆς φυλῆς λαμπρότητι κεκοσμῆσθαι ἢ μόνον τῷ ἔαυτῶν στολῇ. εἰκὸς δὲ μὴ δυσπείστους εἶναι αὐτοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα, οἵ γε φυλαρχεῖν ἐπεθύμησαν δόξης καὶ τιμῆς ὀρεγόμενοι, δυνατοὶ δὲ εἰσὶ κατὰ τὰ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ ὄπλισαι καὶ ἄνευ τοῦ αὐτοὶ δαπανᾶν τῷ μισθῷ ἐπαναγκάζοντες κατὰ τὸν νόμον ὄπλιζεσθαι.
- 24 Εἴς γε μὴν τὸ εὔπειθεῖς εἶναι τοὺς ἀρχομένους μέγα μὲν τὸ¹ λόγῳ διδάσκειν, ὅσα ἀγαθὰ ἔνι ἐν τῷ πειθαρχεῖν, μέγα δὲ καὶ τὸ ἔργῳ² πλεονεκτεῖν μὲν ποιεῖν τοὺς εὐτάκτους, μειονεκτεῖν δὲ ἐν πᾶσι τοὺς ἀτακτοῦντας.
- 25 Ἰσχυροτάτη δέ μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι παρόρμησις τῶν φυλάρχων εἰς τὸ φιλοτιμεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς καλῶς παρεσκευασμένης³ ἔκαστον τῆς φυλῆς ἥγεισθαι, εἰ τοὺς ἀμφὶ σὲ προδρόμους κοσμήσαις μὲν ὅπλοις ως κάλλιστα, ἀκοντίζειν δὲ μελετᾶν ἐξαναγκάσαις ως μάλιστα, εἰσηγοῦσα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ ἀκόντιον αὐτὸς εὖ μάλα μεμελετηκώς.
- 26 εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀθλά τις δύναιτο προτιθέναι ταῖς

¹ τὸ Schneider: τὸ καὶ S with the MSS.

² S with the MSS. adds κατὰ τὸν νόμον, which was removed by Weiske

³ παρεσκευασμένης Weiske: παρεσκευασμένους S with the MSS

¹ The reference is first to the "establishment money"

out as many marksmen as possible for the service of the state.

Towards the proper arming of the men, I think 22 that the greatest amount of assistance will be obtained from the colonels, if they are persuaded that from the point of view of the state the brilliance of the regiment is a far more glorious ornament to them than the brightness of their own accoutrements only. It is likely that they will not 23 be hard to persuade in such matters, considering that honour and glory were the attractions that the colonelcy held out to them, and they can arm the men in accordance with the regulations laid down in the law without incurring expense themselves, afterwards compelling the men to spend their pay on their arms, as the law ordains¹.

To make the men who are under your command 24 obedient, it is important to impress on them by word of mouth the many advantages of obedience to authority, and no less important to see that good discipline brings gain and insubordination loss in every respect.

The best way of inducing every colonel to take pride 25 in commanding a well equipped regiment, I think, is to arm your company of couriers as well as you can, to demand of them constant practice in the use of the javelin, and to instruct them in it after making yourself proficient. And if 26 you could offer prizes to the regiments for skill in

for horse and equipment, due to recruits when they had passed the examination by the Council. There is another allusion to it in c ix 5. This sum is independent of the pay, and it is probable that on leaving the service the cavalryman had to refund it.

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φυλαῖς πάντων ὅπόσα ἀγαθὰ νομίζουσιν ἀσκεῖσθαι ἐι ταῖς θέαις ὑπὸ τοῦ ἵππικοῦ, τοῦτο πάντας οἴμαι Ἀθηναίους γε μάλιστ' ἀν προτρέπειν εἰς φιλονεικίαν. δῆλον δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τοῖς χοροῖς ὡς μικρῷ ἄθλῳ ἔνεκα πολλοὶ μὲν πόνοι, μεγάλαι δὲ δαπάναι τελοῦνται. τοὺς μέντοι κριτὰς τοιούτους δεῖ εὑρίσκειν, παρ' οἷς νικῶντες μάλιστ' ἀν ἀγάλλοιντο.

II. Ἡν δὲ δή σοι ταῦτα πάντα ἔξησκημένοι ὥσιν οἱ ἵππεῖς, δεῖ δίγου καὶ τάξιν τινὰ ἐπίστασθαι αὐτούς, ἐξ ἣς καλλίστας μὲν θεοῖς πομπὰς πέμψουσι, κάλλιστα δὲ ἵππάσονται, ἄριστα δὲ μαχοῦνται, ἦν δέη, ῥᾶστα δὲ καὶ ἀταρακτότατα ὄδοὺς πορεύσονται καὶ διαβάσεις περάσουσιν. ἢ τοίνυν χρώμενοι τάξει δοκοῦσιν ἄν μοι ταῦτα κάλλιστα διαπράττεσθαι, ταύτην νῦν ἥδη πειράσομαι δηλοῦν.

- 2 Οὐκοῦν ὑπὸ μὲν τῆς πόλεως ὑπάρχουσι διηρημέναι φυλαὶ δέκα. τούτων δ' ἐγώ φημι χρῆναι πρῶτον μὲν δεκαδάρχους σὺν τῇ τῶν φυλάρχων ἕκάστου γνώμῃ καταστῆσαι ἐκ τῶν ἀκμαζόντων τε καὶ φιλοτιμοτάτων καλόν τι ποιεῖν καὶ ἀκούειν καὶ τούτους μὲν πρωτοστάτας
- 3 δεῖ εἶναι. μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἵσους χρὴ τούτοις ἀριθμὸν ἐκ τῶν πρεσβυτάτων τε καὶ φρονιμωτάτων ἐλέσθαι, οἵτινες τελευταῖοι τῶν δεκάδων ἔσονται. εἰ γὰρ δεῖ καὶ ἀπεικάσαι, οὕτω καὶ σίδηρος μάλιστα διατέμνει σίδηρον, ὅταν τό τε ἡγουμένον τοῦ τομέως ἐρρωμένον ἢ καὶ τὸ ἐπελαυνόμενον ἴκανόν.
- 4 Τούς γε μὴν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν πρώτων καὶ τῶν

all the feats that the public expects the cavalry to perform at the spectacles, I think this would appeal strongly to the spirit of emulation in every Athenian. For evidence of this I may refer to the choruses, in which many labours and heavy expenses are the price paid for trifling rewards. Only you must find judges whose suffrage will shed lustre on a victory.

II When your men are well trained in all these points, they must, of course, understand some plan of formation, that in which they will show to greatest advantage in the sacred processions and at manœuvres, fight, if need be, with the greatest courage, and move along roads and cross rivers with perfect ease in unbroken order. So I will now try to explain the formation that I think will give the best results in these various circumstances.

Now the state has divided the cavalry into ten 2 separate regiments. I hold that within these you should, to begin with, appoint file leaders¹ after consulting each of the colonels, choosing sturdy men, who are bent on winning fame by some brilliant deed. These should form the front rank. Next 3 you should choose an equal number of the oldest and most sensible to form the rear rank. To use an illustration, steel has most power to cut through steel when its edge is keen and its back reliable.

To fill the ranks between the front and rear, 4 the file leaders should choose the men to form the

¹ "Decadarchs" commanding a file of ten (*δεκάδες*). X. had in mind the organisation of the Spartan infantry, cp. *Constitution of the Lac.* xi 5

² *δέκα* added here by Pierleoni S. omits with the MSS

τελευταίων, εἰς οἱ δεκάδαρχοι ἐπιστάτας ἔλοιντο
καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐφέλοιντο, οὕτως εἰκὸς ἐκάστῳ
πιστότατον τὸν ἐπιστάτην εἶναι.

5 Τὸν μέντοι ἀφηγούμενον ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου
δεῖ ἵκανὸν ἄνδρα καθιστάναι. ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ὅν,
εἴτε ποτὲ δέοι ἐπὶ πολεμίους ἐλαύνειν, ἐγκελεύων
ρώμην ἀν ἐμβάλλοι τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν, εἴτ' αὖ
καὶ ἀποχωρεῖν καιρὸς συμβαίνοι, φρονίμως
ἀφηγούμενος μᾶλλον ἀν, ως τὸ εἰκός, σώζοι
τοὺς φυλέτας.

6 Οἱ μέντοι δεκάδαρχοι ἄρτιοι δύντες πλείω ἵσα
μέρη παρέχοιεν ἀν διαιρεῖν ἢ εἰ περιττοὶ εἴεν.

Αὗτη δέ μοι ἡ τάξις ἀρέσκει διὰ τάδε, ὅτε
πρῶτον μὲν οἱ πρωτοστάται πάντες ἄρχοντες
γίγνονται, οἱ δ' αὐτοὶ ἄνδρες, ὅταν ἄρχωσι,
μᾶλλον πως οἴονται ἑαυτοῖς προσήκειν τι καλὸν
ποιεῖν ἢ ὅταν ἴδιωται ὥσιν ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ὅταν
πρακτέον τι ἦ, τὸ παραγγέλλειν μὴ ἴδιώταις,
ἄλλ' ἄρχουσι πολὺ ἀνυτικώτερον.

7 Τεταγμένων γε μὴν οὕτως χρῆ, ὥσπερ καὶ
τοῖς φυλάρχοις προαγορεύεται ἡ χώρα ὑπὸ τοῦ
ἱππάρχου, ἐν ᾧ ἐκάστῳ ἐλατέον, οὕτω καὶ τοῖς
δεκαδάρχοις παρηγγέλθαι ὑπὸ τῶν φυλάρχων
ὅπῃ¹ πορευτέον ἐκάστῳ. οὕτω γὰρ προειρη-
μένων πολὺ εὐτακτοτέρως ἔχοι ἡ ἀν εἰς ὥσπερ
ἐκ θεάτρου ως ἀν τύχωσιν ἀπιόντες λυποῦσιν
εἰς ἀλλήλους. καὶ μάχεσθαι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐθέλουσιν
οἵ τε πρῶτοι, ἵν τι ἐκ τοῦ πρόσθεν προσπίπτῃ,

* Στη Diels: Στην: S. with the MSS.

second line, and these in turn the men to form the third, and so on throughout. In this way every man will naturally have complete confidence in the man behind him

You must be very careful to appoint a competent 5 man as leader in the rear¹. For if he is a good man, his cheers will always hearten the ranks in front of him in case it becomes necessary to charge, or, should the moment come to retreat, his prudent leadership will, in all probability, do much for the safety of his regiment

An even number of file leaders has this advantage 6 over an odd, that it is possible to divide the regiment into a larger number of equal parts

The reasons why I like this formation are these. In the first place, all the men in the front rank are officers, and the obligation to distinguish them selves appeals more strongly to men when they are officers than when they are privates. Secondly, when anything has to be done, the word of command is much more effective if it is passed to officers rather than to privates

Let us assume that this formation has been 7 adopted every file leader must know his position in the line of march by word passed along by the colonel, just as every colonel is informed by the commander of his proper place in the charge. For when these instructions are given there will be much better order than if the men hamper one another like a crowd leaving the theatre. And in the event of a frontal 8 attack, the men in the van are far more willing to

¹ i.e. the last man of each file (cf. § 3) who in some cases would have to act as leader. In the Spartan infantry he was the man with the longest service in the file.

οἱ δὲ εἰδότες, ὅτι αὐτὴν οὐ χάρησαν καὶ εἰ-
τέλει ταῖς ι. οὐτισταῖς επιβείνουσι. έπειτα
θρεσοι, ὅτι αὐτῷ, διὸ λατέρων τοῖς τάξισι μάκεσσι
δὲ οὐρανοῖς ἀλλαζόνται μάκεσσα ταῖς τάξισι μάκεσσαι
στεγανοῖς οὖσαι καὶ εἰς θαλασσας, τοῦτο οὐτε
μάκεσσοιδεῖ, ἔπειτα αὐτοὶ οὐτε πάχεσθαι.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὐ μάκεσσα ιπάρχουσαν δεῖ
επειπούμενα τὰς τοῖς ιππεῖς τις, εἰ μελλούσι
ἀπροσάσιστοι ἐσεσθαι συνεργοὶ τῷ ήγον, μέντη

III. Τῶι δέ γε μὲν αὐτῷ οὐδὲν μελεῖν δεῖ τὰ
ιπάρχων πρῶτοι μὲν οὐτε καλλιερίζει τοῖς
θεοῖς ιπέρ τοῦ ιππείου, ἐπειτα οὐτε τὰ
πομπὰ, ἐν ταῖς ἱορταῖς αἰξιοθεάσιν ποιήσει.
ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰλλα ὅσα ἐπιδεικνύεται δεῖ τῇ τούτῃ
οὐτως οὐδιατὸν καλλιστα ἐπιδείξει, τα τε ἐν
Ἀκαδημείᾳ καὶ τὰ ἐν Λυκείῳ καὶ τὰ Φαληροῖ
καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ιποστρόμῳ.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἄλλα ὑπομιήνατα ὡς δὲ
τούτων ἔκαστα καλλιστα ὑπὲρ πράττοιτο, νῦν
αὐτὰ ταῦτα¹ λέξω.

2 Τὰς μὲν οὖν πομπὰς οἴομαι ἀντανταὶ καὶ τοῖς
θεοῖς κεχαρισμειωτάτας καὶ τοῖς θεαταῖς εἶναι,
εἰ ὅσων ιερὰ καὶ ἀγάλματα ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἔστι,
ταῦτα ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν Ἐρμῶν κύκλῳ²
περιελαύνοιεν τιμῶντες τοὺς θεούς. καὶ ἐν τοῖς

¹ ταῦτα is omitted by S with ML.

² S with the MSS adds περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τὰ λεπά which was removed by Herwerden

¹ Nothing in the sequel refers to manoeuvres at Phalerum, accordingly it has been proposed to omit καὶ τὰ Φαληροῖς as spurious. The Hippodrome was probably in the N.W.

fight when they know that this is their station, so is the rear rank in the event of a surprise attack in the rear, when the men there understand that it is disgraceful to leave their post. But if no order is kept there is confusion whenever the roads are narrow or rivers are being crossed, and when an action is fought no one voluntarily takes his post in the fighting line.

All these preliminaries must be thoroughly mastered by all the cavalry, if they are to give their leader unflinching support.

III Now we come to duties that the cavalry commander must perform himself. First, he must sacrifice to propitiate the gods on behalf of the cavalry, secondly, he must make the processions during the festivals worth seeing, further, he must conduct all the other obligatory displays before the people with as much splendour as possible, that is to say, the reviews in the Academy, in the Lyceum, at Phalerum, and in the Hippodrome¹.

These again are only brief notes, and I will now explain exactly how the details of these various functions may be carried out with most splendour.

As for the processions, I think they would be most acceptable both to the gods and to the spectators if they included a gala ride in the market place. The starting point would be the Herms², and the cavalry would ride round saluting the gods at their shrines

district of the Piraeus. This treatise gives the only information that we possess about these functions.

¹ The Herms stood in two rows between the 'Stoa Basileios' and the 'Poicile'. The Eleusinium probably lay at the western foot of the Acropolis. See Frazer *Pauuanias* vol II, p 121 and p 131. Some think the site was at the east foot.

Διο, τοιούς δὲ οἱ χρονὶ προστιχισθέντας ἄλλους
τε θεοὺς καὶ τοῖς εὐδεστα χρονίονται.

Ἵ-ειδάν δέ τιλιν τὴν τοῖς Βρυαῖς φύσιν από-
τερη ληλατίτες, ἐ-τε¹ μὲν καλὸν μηδέποτε εἴναι
κατὰ φύλας εἰς τάχος ἀνέσται τοῖς ἵπποις μέγε
ἢ τοῦ Ἰλεισμού, οἷόν δέρατα μή, παραλείψε-
ως ἡσισταν ἀνάλλοις ἔταλλάτοιτο. δεῖ γὰρ
μεταξὺ τοῖς ὅποις τοῦ ἵππου ἑπαστον σχεῖν, εἰ
μέλλει φοιτερή τε καὶ εἰκρεπή ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἀμ-
πολλὰ φαρεισθαι.

Ἵ-ειδάν δὲ τῆς εἰς τάχος διελάσσεως λίξισται,
τὴν ἄλλην ἥδη καλὸν σχέσην εἰς τὰ ιερά, γύτερ
καὶ πρόσθετη, διελαΐστειν, καὶ οὕτως ὅσα ἔστιν
ἥδη ἐν Ἰ-τῳ ἀναβεβαμένη, πάντα ἐπιδεδειγμένα
ἔσται καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.

5 Καὶ ὅτι μὲν τάντα οὐκ εἰδισμένοι ποιεῖν οἱ
ἵππεις εἰσιν, οἶδα· γιγνώσκω δέ, ὅτι ἀγαθὰ καὶ
καλὰ καὶ τοῖς θεαταῖς ἥδεα ἔσται. αἰσθάνομαι
δέ καὶ ἄλλα ἀγνοίσματα τοὺς ἵππεας κεκαισουρ-
γηκότας, ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἵππαρχοι ἰκανοὶ ἐγένορτο
πεῖσαι ἢ ηβονλήθησαν.

6 "Οταν γε μὴν πρὸ τοῦ ἀκοντισμοῦ διελαύνωσιν
ἐν Λυκείῳ, καλὸν ἐκατέρας τὰς πέντε φυλὰς ἐ-
μετώπου ἐλαύνειν ὁ σπερ εἰς μάχην ἥγουμένου
τοῦ ἵππαρχου καὶ τῶν φυλάρχων ἐν τοιαύτῃ
τάξει, ἀφ' ἣς πληρώσεται τοῦ δρόμου τὸ πλάτος.
7 ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὑπερβάλωσι τὸ κεφάλαιον τοῦ ἀντε-
προσώπου θεάτρου, χρήσιμον ἀνοίμαι φανῆναι
καὶ εἴ καθ' ὅπόσους μέτριον εἰς τὸ κάταντες

¹ The Greek text is unreliable here.

* The Theatre of Dionysus, facing them as they come westwards from the Lyceum

and statues So at the Great Dionysia the dance of the choruses forms part of the homage offered to the Twelve and to other gods

When the circuit is completed and the cavalcade is again near the Herms, the next thing to do, I think, is to gallop at top speed by regiments as far as the Eleusinum I will add a word on the 3 position in which the lances should be held to prevent crossing Every man should point his lance between his horse's ears, if the weapons are to look fearsome, stand out distinctly, and at the same time to convey the impression of numbers

The gallop finished and the goal reached, the right 4 plan is to ride back to the temples by the same route, but at a slow pace thus every effect that can be obtained from a horse with a man on his back¹ will be included in the display, to the satisfaction of gods and men alike

I know that our cavalrymen are not accustomed to 5 these movements but I am sure that they are desirable and beautiful, and will delight the spectators I am aware, too, that the cavalry have exhibited other novel feats of skill in days when the cavalry commanders had sufficient influence to get their wishes carried out

During the parade at the Lyceum, before the 6 javelin throwing, the right way is to ride in two divisions in line of battle, each division consisting of five regiments with its commander at the head and the colonels, and the line should be so extended that the whole breadth of the course will be covered As soon as they reach the highest point looking 7 down on the Theatre opposite,² I think it would clearly be useful if you displayed your men's ability

- δυναμέσιοις ταχὺ ἐλαῖς εἰν ἐ-ιδεῖξαις τοὺς ἵ--λας
 8 οὐ μέν τοι ἀγριοῦ, ὅτι τῷ μὲν τιστείνσι δυνήσε
 σθαι ταχὺ ἐλαύνει, —άιντος ἡδέντος ἐ-ιδεῖξαιντο
 ἦν δὲ ἀμελέτητοι ἔστι, ὅραν χρή, ὅτως μὴ οἱ
 —ολέμειοι αὐτοὺς τοῦτο δρᾶν ἀπαγκάσουσιν.
- 9 "Εἰ γε μὴν ταῖς δοκιμασίαις ή μὲν τάξις
 εἴρηται, μεθ' ἡς ἀν κάλλιστα ἵ--άξουτο. ἦν
 δ' ὁ ἥγονύμειος, ἦτερ ἔχη δυνατὸν ἵππον, ἐν τῷ
 ἔξωθεν ἀεὶ στίχῳ περιφέρηται, οὗτος αὐτὸς μὲν
 ἀεὶ ταχὺ ἐλᾶ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ἔξωθεν γιγνόμειοι
 πάλιν αὖ ταχὺ ἐλῶσιν· ὥστε η μὲν βουλὴ ἀεὶ¹
 τὸ ταχὺ ἐλαυνόμειον θεάσεται, οἱ δὲ ἵπποι οὐκ
 ἀπεροῦσιν ἐν μέρει ἀπαυόμειοι.
- 10 "Οταν γε μὴν ἐν τῷ ἰ-ποδρόμῳ η ἐπίδειξις
 γί, καλὸν μὲν οὗτο τρώτον τάξασθαι, ὡς ἀν ἐ-
 μετώπου ἐμπλήσαντες ἵππων τὸν ἵπποδρομον
 11 ἔξελάσειαν τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἀνθρώπους. καλὸν
 δ', ἐπεὶ αἱ φυλαὶ ἐν τῇ ἀνθιππασίᾳ φεύγουσί τε
 ἀλλήλας καὶ διώκουσι ταχέως, ὅταν οἱ ἵππαρχοι
 ἥγωνται ταῖς πέντε φυλαῖς, ἑκατέρας διελαύνειν
 τὰς φυλὰς δι' ἀλλήλων. ταύτης γάρ τῆς θέας
 τό τε ἀντιμετώπους προσελαύνειν ἀλλήλοις
 γοργὸν τό τε διελάσαντας τὸν ἵπποδρομον
 ἀντίους πάλιν στήναι ἀλλήλοις σεμνὸν καὶ
 τὸ ἀπὸ σάλπιγγος αὖ τὸ δεύτερον θάττον ἐπε-
 12 λαύνειν καλόν. στάντας δὲ ἡδη τὸ τρίτον αὖ
 ἀπὸ τῆς σάλπιγγος χρή τάχιστα ἀλλήλοις

¹ The allusion is not to the inspection of recruits by the Council, but to the manœuvres enumerated in c. iii 1. The formation is that proposed in c. ii

² As it is not known precisely what evolutions took place

to gallop downhill in fairly large companies To be 8
sure, I know well enough that, if they feel confident
of their ability to gallop, they will welcome the
opportunity of showing off their skill but you
must see that they are not short of practice, or
the enemy will compel them to do it against their
will.

The formation that would add most to the beauty 9
of the exercises at the inspections¹ has already been
explained Provided his horse is strong enough, the
leader should ride round with the file that is on the
outside every time He will be galloping all the
time himself, and the file whose turn it is to be on
the outside with him will also be galloping Thus
the eyes of the Council will always be on the
galloping file, and the horses will get a breathing
space, resting by turns²

When the Hippodrome is the scene of the display, 10
the right plan would be that the men should first be
drawn up on a front broad enough to fill the
Hippodrome with horses and drive out the people
standing there In the sham fight when the 11
regiments pursue and fly from one another at the
gallop in two squadrons of five regiments, each side
led by its commander, the regiments should ride
through one another How formidable they will look
when they charge front to front, how imposing when,
after sweeping across the Hippodrome, they stand
facing one another again, how splendid, when the
trumpet sounds and they charge once more at a
quicker pace! After the halt, the trumpet should 12
sound once more, and they should charge yet a
at the displays, it is impossible to make out what changes
Xenophon proposes.

- ἐπελαύνειν καὶ διελάσαιταις εἰς κατάλυσιν ἥδη
ἐπὶ φάλαγγος ἑπαιτας καταστάνταις, ὡσπερ
13 εἴώθατε, πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν προσελπίνειν. ταῦτα
μοι δοκεῖ πολεμικώτερά τε φαίνεσθαι ἀν καὶ
καινότερα. τὸ δὲ βραδύτερον μὲν τῶν φυλάρχων
ἔλαύνειν, τὸ δὲ αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐκείνοις ἵππευειν
οὐκ ἔξιον ἵππαρχίας.
- 14 "Οταν γε μὴν ἐν τῷ ἐπικρότῳ ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ
ἵππευειν δέῃ, ἔχω τούτῳ παραινέσαι εἰς μὲν τὸ
μὴ ἀποκρούεσθαι ἀπὸ¹ τῶν ἵππων ὑπτίου
ἀναπεπτωκότας ἔλαύνειν, εἰς δὲ τὸ μὴ πέπτειν
τοὺς ἵππους ὑπολαμβάνειν ἐν ταῖς ἀναστροφαῖς
τὰ μέντοι ὄρθδα ταχὺ ἔλαύνειν χρή· οὗτοι γάρ τι
ἀσφαλέστεροι καὶ τὸ καλὸν θεύσεται ἡ βουλὴ.
- IV. "Ἐν γε μὴν ταῖς πορείας σὲ δεῖ τὸν ἵππαρ-
χον προνοεῖν, ὅπως ἀναπαύῃ μὲν τῶν ἵππων τὰ
ἔδρας, ἀναπαύῃ δὲ τοὺς ἵππέας τῷ² βαδίζειν
μέτριον μὲν ὁχοῦντα, μέτριον δὲ πεζοποροῦντα
τοῦ δὲ μετρίου ἐννοῶν οὐκ ἀν ἀμαρτάνοις
αὐτὸς γάρ μέτρον ἔκαστος τοῦ μὴ λαθεῖν
ὑπερπονοῦντας.
- 2 "Οταν μέντοι ἀδῆλου ὄντος, εἰ πολεμίοις
ἐντεύξει, πορεύη ποι, κατὰ μέρος χρὴ τὰς φυλὰς
ἀναπαύειν. χαλεπὸν γάρ, εἰ πᾶσι καταβεβη-
κόσι πλησιάσειαν οἱ πολέμιοι.
- 3 Καὶ ἦν μέν γε διὰ στενῶν ὁδῶν ἔλαύνης
ἀπὸ παραγγέλσεως εἰς κέρας ἡγητέον· ἦν δὲ
πλατείαις ἐπιτυγχάνης ὁδοῖς, ἀπὸ παραγγέλ-
σεως αὖ πλατυντέον τῆς φυλῆς ἔκάστης τὸ

¹ ἀπὸ B: ποτε S. with the other MSS.² τῷ Herwerden: τοῦ S. with the MSS.

THE CAVALRY COMMANDER, III. 12-IV. 3

third time at top speed; and when they have crossed, they should all range themselves in battle line preparatory to being dismissed, and ride up to the Council, just as you are accustomed to do I 13 think that these manœuvres would look more like war and would have the charm of novelty. It is unworthy of his high rank that a cavalry commander should gallop at a slower pace than the colonels, and ride in the same way as they do.

When the ride is to take place in the Academy on 14 the hard ground, I have the following recommendations to make. To avoid being thrown the riders should throw the body back in charging, and collect their horses when wheeling, to keep them from falling In the straight, however, they should gallop The Council will thus watch a safe as well as a beautiful performance.

IV During a march the cavalry commander must always think ahead, in order that he may rest the horses backs and relieve the men by walking, giving moderate spells of alternate riding and marching You can't misjudge what is a moderate spell, since every man is himself the measure¹ that will show you when they are getting tired

But when it is uncertain whether you will encounter an enemy on your way to any place, you must give the regiments a rest in turn For it would be a bad job if all the men were dismounted when the enemy is close at hand

If you are riding along narrow roads, the order 3 must be given to form column, but when you find yourself on broad roads, the order must be given to

¹ Perhaps a reference to the theory of Protagoras, "Man is the measure of all things."

every regiment to extend front. When you reach open ground, all the regiments must be in line of battle. Incidentally these changes of order are good for practice, and help the men to get over the ground more pleasantly by varying the march with cavalry manœuvres.

When riding on difficult ground away from roads, 4 whether in hostile or friendly country, it is very useful to have some of the *riders de camp* in advance of each regiment, that they may find a way round into the open in case they come across pathless woodland, and show the men what line they should follow, so that whole companies may not go astray.

If your route lies in dangerous country, a prudent 5 commander will have a second advanced guard ahead of his scouts for reconnaissance purposes. For it is useful both for attack and defence to discover an enemy as far off as possible. It is useful also to halt at the passage of a river, that the rear guard may not wear out their horses in chasing their leader. These rules, no doubt, are familiar to nearly everybody, but few will take the trouble to observe them.

A cavalry commander should be at pains even in 6 time of peace to acquaint himself with hostile and friendly country alike. In case he is without personal experience, he should at least consult the men in the force who have the best knowledge of various localities. For the leader who knows the roads has a great advantage over one who does not. In making plans against the enemy, too, a knowledge of the district makes a great difference.

* δι' ἐπ καθυσων B. ἐπι κακδύων S. with the other MSS

* πολυ Dindorf πάρν S. with the MSS

* ηγούμενος δ Dindorf δ ηγουμένος S. with the MSS

7 Καὶ κατασκόπων δὲ πρὸι πόλεμον εἶναι δεῖ
μεμεληκέναι, ὅπως ἔσονται καὶ ἐκ πόλεων ἀμφοτέ-
ροις φίλιῶν καὶ ἔξ ἐμπόρων πᾶσαι γὰρ αἱ πόλεις
τοὺς εἰσάγοντάς τι ἀεὶ ὡς εὐμενεῖς δέχονται καὶ
8 ψευδαυτόμολοι δ' ἔστιν ὅτε χρήσιμον. οὐ μέντοι
τοῖς γε κατασκόποις δεῖ ποτε πιστεύοντα φυ-
λακῆς ἀμελεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ οὕτως κατεσκευάσθαι
χρή, ὥσπερ ἦν ἕξοντες εἰσηγγελμένοι ὧσιν οἱ
πολέμιοι. καὶ γὰρ ἦν πάνυ πιστοί ὧσιν οἱ κατά-
σκοποι, χαλεπὸν ἐν καιρῷ ἀπαγγέλλειν πολλὰ
γὰρ ἐν πολέμῳ τὰ ἐμπόδια ἐμπίπτει.

9 Τάς γε μὴν ἔξαγωγὰς τοῦ ἵππικοῦ ἥπτον ἀν
οἱ πολέμιοι αἰσθάνοιντο, εἰ ἀπὸ παραγγέλσεως
γίγνοιντο μᾶλλον ἢ εἰ ἀπὸ κήρυκος ἢ ἀπὸ
προγραφῆς. ἀγαθὸν οὖν καὶ πρὸς τὸ¹ διὰ
παραγγέλσεως ἔξάγειν τὸ δεκαδάρχους καθιστάναι

"
οἱ

πεμπάδαρχοι παράγοντες, ὅπότε τούτου καιρὸς εἴη.

10 "Οταν γε μὴν προφυλάττειν δέῃ, ἐγὼ μὲν ἀεὶ²
ἔπαινῷ τὰς κρυπτὰς σκοπάς τε καὶ φυλακάς.
οὕτω γὰρ ἄμα μὲν τῶν φίλων φυλακαὶ γίγνονται,
ἄμα δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνέδραι κατασκευάζονται.

11 καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν δυσεπιβουλευτότεροὶ εἰσιν ἀφανεῖς
δύντες, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις φοβερώτεροι. τὸ γὰρ
εἰδέναι μέν, δτι εἰσὶ που φυλακαὶ, δπου δ' εἰσὶ³
καὶ ὅπόσαι μὴ εἰδέναι, τοῦτο θαρρεῖν μὲν κωλύει
τοὺς πολεμίους, ὑποπτεύειν δὲ ἀναγκάζει πάντα

¹ τὸ B: τῷ S with the other MSS.

² ἀεὶ added by Schneider: καὶ τοῖς B: καὶ τοῖς τε the other
MSS.: καὶ τοῖς δὲ S.

THE CAVALRY COMMANDER, IV 7-11

You must also have taken steps to enlist the services of spies before the outbreak of war. Some of these should be citizens of neutral states, and some merchants, since all states invariably welcome the importer of merchandise. Sham deserters, too, have their use on occasions. Still, you must never neglect to post guards through reliance on spies, on the contrary, your precautions must at all times be as complete as when you have information that the enemy is approaching. For even if the spies are entirely reliable, it is difficult to report at the critical moment, since many things happen in war to hinder them.

The advance of cavalry is less likely to be detected by the enemy if orders are not given by a herald or in writing beforehand, but passed along. Accordingly, for this purpose, too, that the order to advance may be given by word of mouth, it is well to post file leaders, and half file leaders¹ behind them, so that each may pass the word to as few men as possible. Thus, too, the half file leaders will wheel and extend the line without confusion, whenever there is occasion to do so.

When it is necessary to keep a look out, I am all in favour of the plan of having hidden outposts and guards. For these serve at once as guards to protect your friends and snares to trap the enemy. And the men, being unseen, are more secure themselves and at the same time more formidable to the enemy. For the enemy, conscious that there are outposts somewhere, but ignorant of their whereabouts and their strength, feels nervous and is forced to suspect

¹ These form the sixth rank

- τὰ χωρία· αἱ δὲ φανεραὶ φυλακαὶ δῆλα παρέ-
 12 χουσι¹ καὶ τὰ δεινὰ καὶ τὰ εὐθαρσῆ. ἔτε δὲ
 τῷ μὲν κρυπτὰς ἔχοντι φυλακὰς ἔξεσται μὲν
 φανεροῖς ὀλίγοις ἐμπροσθεν τῶν κρυπτῶν φυλάτ-
 τουντα πειρᾶσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους εἰς ἐνέδρας
 ὑπάγειν. ἀγρευτικὸν δὲ καὶ ὅπισθεν τῶν κρυπτῶν
 ἄλλοις φανεροῖς ἔστιν ὅτε φυλάττειν καὶ τοῦτο
 γὰρ ἔξαπατητικὸν τῶν πολεμίων ὁμοίως τῷ
 πρόσθεν εἰρημένῳ.
- 13 Ἀλλὰ μὴν φρονίμου γε ἄρχοντος καὶ τὸ μήποτε
 κινδυνεύειν ἐκόντα, πλὴν ὅπου ἀν πρόδηλον ἦ,
 ὅτι πλέον ἔξει τῶν πολεμίων τὸ δὲ ὑπηρετεῖν
 τὰ ἥδιστα τοῖς πολεμίοις προδοσία τῶν συμ-
 μάχων δικαίως ἀν μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνδρείᾳ κρίνοιτο.
- 14 σῶφρον δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐκεῖσε ὄρμᾶν, ὅπου ἀν ἀσθενῆ
 τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἦ, καν πρόσω ὅντα τυγχάνῃ.
 τὸ γὰρ σφόδρα πονῆσαι ἀκινδυνότερον ἢ πρὸς
- 15 τοὺς κρείττους ἀγωνίζεσθαι. ἦν δέ πη εἰς μέσον
 φιλίων τειχέων εἰσίωσιν οἱ πολέμοι, καν πολὺ^ν
 κρείττους ὅντες, καλὸν μὲν ἐντεῦθεν ἐπιχειρεῖν
 ὅποτέρωθι ἀν λελήθης παρών, καλὸν δὲ καὶ ἄμα^ν
 ἀμφοτέρωθεν. ὅταν γὰρ οἱ ἕτεροι ἀποχωρῶσιν,
 οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα ἐλαύνοντες ταράττοιεν μὲν
 ἀν τοὺς πολεμίους, σώζοιεν δ' ἀν τοὺς φίλους.
- 16 Καὶ τὸ μὲν διὰ κατασκόπων πειρᾶσθαι εἰδέναι
 τὰ τῶν πολεμίων πάλαι εἰρηται ὡς ἀγαθόν ἔστιν.
 ἐγὼ δὲ πάντων ἄριστον νομίζω εἶναι τὸ αὐτὸν
 πειρᾶσθαι, ἦν ἢ ποθεν ἔξ ἀσφαλοῦς, θεώμενον
- 17 τοὺς πολεμίους ἀθρεῖν, ἦν τι ἀμαρτάνωσι. καὶ
 τὸ μὲν κλαπῆναι δυνατὸν πέμπειν χρὴ τοὺς
 ἐπιτηδείους κλέψοντας, τὸ δ' ἀρπασθῆναι ἐγχω-

¹ παρέχουσι Rühl: Ιχονσι S. with the MSS.

every possible position; whereas visible outposts show them where danger lies and where all is safe. Besides, if you conceal your outposts, you will have 12 the chance of luring the enemy into an ambush by placing a few guards in the open to screen the hidden men. Occasionally, too, a cunning trap may be laid by posting a second body of exposed guards behind the men in hiding, for this plan may prove as deceptive to the enemy as the one just referred to.

A prudent commander will never take risks unnecessarily, except when it is clear beforehand that he will have the advantage of the enemy. To play into the enemy's hand may surely be considered treachery to one's allies rather than courage. Another sound principle is to go for any position 14 where the enemy is weak, even if it is a long way off, since hard work is less dangerous than a struggle against superior forces. But if the enemy places 15 himself somewhere between yourself and fortresses friendly to you, then it is proper to attack him, even if he is greatly superior, on that side where your presence is unsuspected, or on both flanks at once, for when one part of your force is retiring, a charge on the opposite flank will flurry the enemy and rescue your friends.

It is an old maxim that, in attempting to discover 16 what the enemy is about, it is well to employ spies. But the best plan of all, in my opinion, is for the commander himself to watch the enemy from some safe coign of vantage, if possible, and take notice of his mistakes. And when anything can be filched by 17 cunning, you should send likely men to steal it, and when anything may be seized you should despatch

ροῦν ἐφιέναι τοὺς ἀρπάσοντας. ἦν δὲ τορευο
μέιων ποι τῶν πολεμίων ἀπαρτᾶται τι ἀσθειέσ-
τερον τῆς αὐτοῦ δυιάμεως ἡ θαρροῦν ἀποσκε
δαννύηται, οὐδὲ ταῦτα χρὴ λανθάνειν· ἀεὶ μέντοι
τῷ ἴσχυροτέρῳ τὸ ἀσθενέστερον θηρᾶ.

- 18 Δυνατὸν δε προσέχοντι τὸν νοῦν ταῦτα καταμαν
θάνειν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ βραχυγυνωμοι ἐστέρα ἀνθρώπου
θηρία οἵ τε ἵκτινοι δύιαινται ὃ ἀν ἀφύλακτον ἥ
ἀφαρπάσαντες εἰς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἀποχωρεῖν πρὶν
ληφθῆναι καὶ οἱ λύκοι δὲ τά τε ἐρημούμενα
φυλακῆς ἀγρεύουσι καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς δυσοράτοις
19 κλέπτουσι, καν μεταθέων γέ τις ἐπιγίγνηται
κύων, ἦν μὲν ἡττων ἥ τούτῳ ἐπιτίθεται ἦν δὲ
κρείττων, ἀποσπάσας¹ ὃ τι ἀν ἔχη ἀποχωρεῖ
ὅταν δέ γε φυλακῆς καταφρονησωσι λύκοι,
τάξαντες ἑαυτῶν τοὺς μὲν ἀπελαύνειν τὴν
φυλακήν, τοὺς δὲ ἀρπάζειν, οὗτω τὰ ἐπιτήδεια
20 πορίζονται θηρίων γε μὴν δυιαμένων τὰ τοιαῦτα
φρονιμως ληίζεσθαι, πῶς οὐκ ἀνθρωπόν γε ὄντα
εἰκὸς σοφωτερον τούτων φαίνεσθαι, ἢ καὶ αὐτὰ
τέχνη ὑπ' ἀνθρώπου ἀλίσκεται;

V. Κάκεινο γε μὴν εἰδέναι ἵππικοῦ ἀνδρός, ἐκ
πόσου ἀν ἵππος πεζον ἔλοι καὶ ἔξ ὁπόσου βραδεῖς
ἀν ἵπποι ταχεῖς ἀποφύγοιεν ἵππαρχικὸν δὲ καὶ
χωρία γιγνωσκειν, ἔνθα πεζοὶ κρείττους ἵππέων
2 καὶ ἔνθα πεζῶν κρείττους ἵππεῖς χρὴ δὲ μηχανή
τικὸν εἶναι καὶ τοῦ πολλοὺς μὲν φαίνεσθαι τοὺς
ὅλιγους ἵπτέας, πάλιν δ' ὅλιγους τοὺς πολλοὺς
καὶ τοῦ δοκεῖν παρούτα μὲν ἀπεῖναι, ἀπόντα δὲ
παρεῖναι καὶ τοῦ μὴ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων μόνον
κλέπτειν ἐπίστασθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ

¹ ἀποσπάσας Courier αποσφαξας S with the MSS.

troops to seize it. If the enemy is marching on some objective and a part of his force weaker than your own separates from the main body or straggles carelessly, the chance must not be missed, the hunter, however, must always be stronger than the hunted.

You can see the point of this if you consider 18
Even wild creatures less intelligent than man, such as hawks, will grab unguarded plunder and get away into a place of safety before they can be caught; wolves, again, prey on anything left unprotected and steal things lying in holes and corners; and if a dog does pursue and overtake him, 19
the wolf, if stronger than the dog, attacks him, or if weaker, snatches away the prize and makes off. Moreover, when a pack of wolves feels no fear of a convoy, they arrange themselves so that some shall drive off the convoy, and others seize the plunder, and thus they get their food. Well, if wild beasts 20
show such sagacity, surely any man may be expected to show more wisdom than creatures that are themselves taken by the skill of man.

V Every horseman should know at what distance a horse can overtake a man on foot, and how much start a slow horse needs to escape from a fast one. A cavalry commander should also be able to judge of the ground where infantry has an advantage over cavalry and where cavalry has an advantage over infantry. He must also have sufficient ingenuity to 2 make a small company of horse look large, and conversely, to make a large one look small, to seem to be absent when present, and present when absent, to know how to deceive, not merely how to steal the enemy's possessions, but also how to conceal

ιππέας ἄμα κλέπτοιτα ἐξ ἀπροσδοκήτου τοῖς
 3 πολεμίοις ἐπιτίθεσθαι. ἀγαθὸν δὲ μηχάνημα καὶ
 τὸ δύνασθαι, ὅταν μὲν τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἀσθενῶς ἔχῃ,
 φόβον παρασκευάζειν τοῖς πολεμίοις, ὡς μὴ
 ἐπίθωνται· ὅταν δ' ἐρρωμένως, θάρρος αὐτοῖς
 ἐμποιεῖν, ὡς ἐγχειρῶσιν. οὕτω γὰρ αὐτὸς μὲν
 ἀν ἥκιστα κακῶς πάσχοις, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους
 μάλιστ' ἀν ἀμαρτάγοντας λαμβάγοις.

4 "Οπως δὲ μὴ προστάττειν δοκῶ ἀδύνατα,
 γράψω καὶ ὡς ἀν γίγνοιτο τὰ δοκοῦντα αὐτῶν
 χαλεπώτατα εἶναι.

Τὸ μὲν τοίνυν μὴ σφάλλεσθαι ἐγχειροῦντα
 διώκειν ἡ ἀποχωρεῖν ἐμπειρία ποιεῖ ἵππων
 δυνάμεως. πῶς δ' ἀν ἐμπείρως ἔχοις; εἰ προ-
 ἔχοις¹ τὸν νοῦν ἐν ταῖς μετὰ φιλίας ἀνθιπ-
 πασίαις οἷοι² ἀποβαλνουσιν ἐκ τῶν διώξεών τε
 καὶ φυγῶν.

5 "Οταν μέντοι βούλη τοὺς ἵππέας πολλοὺς
 φαίνεσθαι, ἐν μὲν πρῶτον ὑπαρχέτω, ἥνπερ
 ἐγχωρῆ, μὴ ἐγγὺς τῶν πολεμίων ἐγχειρεῦν ἔξα-
 πατᾶν· καὶ γὰρ ἀσφαλέστερον τὸ πρόσω πα-
 ἀπατητικώτερον. ἔπειτα δὲ χρὴ εἰδέναι, ὅτι
 ἀθρόοι μὲν ἵπποι πολλοὶ φαίνονται διὰ τὸ
 μέγεθος τοῦ ζώου, διασπειρόμενοι δ' εὐαρίθμητοι

6 γίγνονται. ἔτι δ' ἀν πλεῖόν σοι τὸ ἵππικὸν τοῦ
 δύντος φαίνοιτο, εἰ τοὺς ἵπποκόμους εἰς τοὺς
 ἵππέας ἐνισταίης μάλιστα μὲν δόρατα, εἰ δὲ μὴ,
 ὅμοια δόρασιν ἔχοντας, ἢν τε ἐστηκὸς ἐπιδεικνύης
 τὸ ἵππικὸν ἢν τε παράγης ἀνάγκη γὰρ τὸν
 δύκον τῆς τάξεως οὕτω μείζω τε καὶ πυκνότερον
 φαίνεσθαι.

7 "Ἡν δ' αὖ τοὺς πολλοὺς δλίγους βούλη³ δοκεῖν

his own force and fall on the enemy unexpectedly. Another next ruse is to create a scare among the 3 enemy when your own position is precarious, so that he may not attack, and to put him in good heart, when it is strong, so that he may make an attempt. Thus you are least likely to come to harm yourself and most likely to catch the enemy tripping.

That I may not seem to demand impossibilities, I 4 will add a solution of the problems that seem most puzzling.

Success in an attempt to pursue or retreat depends on experience of horses and their powers. But how are you to get this experience? By watching the friendly encounters of the sham fights and noticing what condition the horses are in after the pursuits and flights.

When your object is to make the number of your 5 cavalry look large, first take it for an axiom, if possible, not to attempt the ruse when you are near the enemy for distance gives safety and increases the illusion. Secondly you must know that horses look many when crowded, owing to the animals size, but are easily counted when scattered. Another way of 6 exaggerating the apparent strength of your force is to arm the grooms with lances or even imitation lances, and put them between the cavalry men, whether you display the cavalry at the halt or wheel it into line. Thus the bulk of the company is bound to look denser and more massive.

On the other hand, if your object is to make a 7

¹ ξοις and προσξοις Krüger ξοι and προσξοι S with the MSS.

² εἰς Leuklau εἰς S with the Aldine ed. εἰς MSS

³ βούλη B S omits with the other MSS

ΧΕΝΟΡΙΙΟΝ

είναι, ἡνὶ μὲν σοι χωρία ὑπάρχῃ οὐα συγκρύπτειν, δῆλοι ὅτι τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῷ φαιερῷ ἔχοντος δ' εἰς τὸ ἄδηλον ἀποκρύπτων κλέπτοις ἀντοὺς ἵππεας· ἡνὶ δὲ πᾶν καταφανὲς ἢ τὸ χωρίον δεκάδας χρὴ στοιχούσας ποιήσαντα διαλειπούσας παράγειν· καὶ τοὺς μὲν πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἵππεας ἐκάστης δεκάδος ὁρθὰ τὰ δόρατα ἔχειν τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ταπεινὰ καὶ μὴ ὑπερφανῆ.

8 Φοβεῖν γε μὴν τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ ψευδενέδρας οἶν τε καὶ ψευδοβοηθείας καὶ ψευδαγγελίας ποιοῦντα. θαρροῦσι δὲ μάλιστα πολέμιοι, ὅταν δύντα¹ τοῖς ἐναντίοις πράγματα καὶ ἀσχολίας πυνθάνωνται.

9 Τούτων δὲ γεγραμμένων μηχανᾶσθαι αὐτὸν χρὴ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν ἀεὶ ἀπατᾶν· δύντως γάρ οὐδὲν 10 κερδαλεώτερον ἐν πολέμῳ ἀπάτης· ὅπότε γάρ καὶ οἱ παῖδες ὅταν παίζωσι ποσίνδα, δύνανται ἀπατᾶν προσχούτες ὥστε ὀλίγους τ' ἔχοντες πολλοὺς δοκεῖν ἔχειν καὶ πολλοὺς προεχούτες δλίγους φαίνεσθαι ἔχειν, πῶς οὐκ ἄνδρες γε τῷ ἔξαπατᾶν προσέχοντες τὸν νοῦν δύναινται· ἀν-

11 τοιαῦτα μηχανᾶσθαι; καὶ ἐνθυμούμενος δ' ἀντὰ ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις πλεοιεκτήματα εὔροι ἄν τις τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα σὺν ἀπάτῃ γεγενημένα ὡν ἔνεκα ἢ οὐκ ἐγχειρητέον ἄρχειν ἢ τοῦτο σὺν τῇ ἄλλῃ παρασκευῇ καὶ παρὰ θεῶν αἰτητέον δύνασθαι ποιεῖν καὶ αὐτῷ μηχανητέον.

12 Οἰς δὲ θάλαττα πρόσεστιν, ἀπάτητικὸν καὶ τὸ πλοῖα παρασκευαζόμενον πεζῇ τι πρᾶξαι καὶ τὰ

¹ δύτα added by Madvig.

* γάρ Ribitt: γε S. with the MSS.

large number look small, then, assuming that your ground affords cover, you can obviously conceal your cavalry by having part in the open and part hidden. If, however, the whole of the ground is exposed, you must form the files into rows and wheel, leaving a gap between each two rows¹, and the men in each file who are next the enemy must hold their lances upright, while the rest keep theirs low down out of sight.

The means to employ for scaring the enemy are 8
false ambuscades, false reliefs and false information.
An enemy's confidence is greatest when he is told that
the other side is in difficulties and is preoccupied.

But given these instructions, a man must himself 9
invent a ruse to meet every emergency as it occurs.
For there is really nothing more profitable in war than
deception. Even children are successful deceivers 10
when they play "Guess the number", they will hold
up a counter or two and make believe that they have
got a fist full, and seem to hold up few when they
are holding many, so surely men can play similar
tricks when they are intent on deceiving in earnest.
And on thinking over the successes gained in war 11
you will find that most of them, and these the
greatest, have been won with the aid of deception.
For these reasons either you should not essay to
command, or you should pray to heaven that your
equipment may include this qualification, and you
should contrive on your own part to possess it.

For those near the sea two effective ruses are, 12
to strike on land while fitting out ships, and to

¹ The enemy will not know (a) the number of files when posted one behind another, nor (b) the depth of the line when the files have wheeled.

πεζῆ προσποιούμενον ἐπιβουλεύειν κατὰ θάλατται ἐπιχειρῆσαι.

13 Ίππαρχικὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ διδάσκειν τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ἀσθενὲς τὸ πεζῶν ἔρημον ἵππικὸν πρὸς τὸ ἀμίππους πεζοὺς ἔχον. ἵππαρχικὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ λαβόντα πεζοὺς αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι. ἐστι δὲ πεζοὺς οὓς μόνον ἐντός,¹ ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅπισθεν ἵππεων² ἀποκρύψασθαι· πολὺ γὰρ μείζων ὁ ἵππεὺς τοῦ πεζοῦ.

14 Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ἐγὼ καὶ ὅσα πρὸς τούτοις τις μηχανήσεται ἡ βίᾳ ἡ τέχνη αἱρεῖν τοὺς ἐναυτίους βουλόμενος σὺν τῷ θεῷ πράττειν συμβουλεύω, ἵνα καὶ ἡ τύχη³ συνεπαινῇ θεῶν ἔλεων ὄντων.

15 Ἐστι δ' ὅτε πάνυ ἀπατητικὸν καὶ τὸ λίαν φυλακτικὸν προσποιήσασθαι εἶναι καὶ μηδαμῶς φιλοκίνδυνον· τοῦτο γὰρ τοὺς πολεμίους πολλάκις προάγεται ἀφυλακτοῦντας μᾶλλον ἀμαρτάνειν. ἦν δ' ἀπαξ δόξῃ τις φιλοκίνδυνος εἶναι, ἔξεστι καὶ ἡσυχίαν ἔχοντα, προσποιούμενον δὲ πράξειν τι πράγματα τοῖς πολεμίοις παρέχειν.

VI. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐδὲν ἂν τις δύναιτο πλάσαι οἷον βούλεται, εἰ μὴ ἔξ ὧν γε πλάττοιτο παρεσκευασμένα εἴη ὡς πείθεσθαι τῇ τοῦ χειροτέχνου γυώμῃ· οὐδέ γ' ἂν ἔξ ἀνδρῶν, εἰ μὴ σὺν θεῷ οὕτω παρεσκευασμένοι ἔσονται, ὡς φιλικῶς τε ἔχειν πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ φρονιμώτερον σφῶν αὐτὸν ἡγεῖσθαι περὶ τῶν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀγώνων.

7 Εὔνοϊκῶς μὲν οὖν ἔχειν καὶ ἐκ τῶνδε εἰκὸς τοὺς ἄρχομένους, ὅταν φιλοφρόνως τε ἔχῃ πρὸς

¹ ἀπόδει Ηερωρέδην: ἐν τούτοις S. with the MSS.

² ἴππεων Δινδόρφ: ἴππων S. with the MSS.

attack by sea while ostensibly planning a land attack

Another duty of a cavalry commander is to 13 demonstrate to the city the weakness of cavalry destitute of infantry as compared with cavalry that has infantry attached to it. Further, having got his infantry, a cavalry commander should make use of it. A mounted man being much higher than a man on foot, infantry may be hidden away not only among the cavalry but in the rear as well.

For the practical application of these devices and 14 any others you may contrive for the undoing of your foes by force or craft, I counsel you to work with God, so that, the gods being propitious, fortune too may favour you.

Another ruse that proves highly effective at times 15 is to feign excess of caution and reluctance to take risks. For this pretence often lures the enemy into making a more fatal blunder through want of caution. Or once come to be thought venturesome, and you can give the enemy trouble by merely sitting still and pretending that you are on the point of doing something.

VI However, no man can mould anything to his mind unless the stuff in which he proposes to work lies ready to obey the artist's will. No more can you make anything of men, unless, by God's help, they are ready to regard their commander with friendly feelings and to think him wiser than themselves in the conduct of operations against the enemy.

Now the feeling of loyalty will naturally be 2 fostered when the commander is kind to his men,

* ἡ τέχη Courier τὴν τέχνην S with the MSS.

- αύτοὺς καὶ προνοῶν φαίνηται, ὅπως τε σῖτοι
ἔξουσι καὶ ὅπως ἀσφαλῶς μὲν ἀποχωρήσουσι;
 3 πεφυλαγμέρως δὲ ἀναπαύσονται. ἐν δὲ ταῖς
φρουραῖς χρὴ καὶ χιλοῦ καὶ σκηνῶν καὶ ὑδάτων
καὶ φρυγανῶν¹ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων φανε-
ρὸν εἶναι ἐπιμελούμενον καὶ προνοοῦντά τε καὶ
ἀγρυπνοῦντα ἔνεκα τῶν ἀρχομένων. καὶ ὅταν
γε πλέον ἔχῃ τι, τὸ μεταδοῦναι κερδαλέον τῷ
προεστηκότι.
- 4 "Ηκιστα δ' ἀν καταφρονοῖεν ἀρχοντος, ὡς μὲν
συνελόντι εἰπεῖν, εἰ ὅπόσα ἐκείνοις παραινοΐη,
αὐτὸς ταῦτα βέλτιον ἐκείνων φαίνοιτο ποιῶν.
 5 ἀρξάμενον οὖν δεῖ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τοὺς
ἴππους πάντα τὰ ἐν ἵππικῇ μελετᾶν, ὅπως ὄρῳσι
τὸν ἀρχοντα δυνάμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου καὶ τά-
φρους ἀσφαλῶς περᾶν καὶ τειχία ὑπερακρίζειν
καὶ ἀπ' ὅχθων καταίρειν καὶ ἀκοντίζειν ἰκανῶς.
 6 πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα προκόπτει τι εἰς τὸ μὴ κατα-
φρονεῖσθαι. ἦν δὲ δὴ καὶ τάττειν² γυνῶσιν ἐπι-
σταμενόν τε καὶ δυνάμενον παρασκευάζειν, ὡς
ἀν πλέον ἔχοιεν τῶν πολεμίων, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις
κάκενο λάβωσιν εἰς τὴν γυνώμην, ὡς οὕτ' ἀν
εἰκῆ οὗτ' ἄνευ θεῶν οὔτε παρὰ τὰ ἱερὰ ἡγήσαιτ'
ἀν ἐπὶ πολεμίους, πάντα ταῦτα πιθανωτέρους τῷ
ἀρχοντι τοὺς ἀρχομένους ποιεῖ.

VII. Παντὶ μὲν οὖν προσήκει ἀρχοντι φρονίμῳ
εἶναι· πολὺ μέντοι τὸν Ἀθηναίων ἵππαρχον δια-
φέρειν δεῖ καὶ τῷ τοὺς θεοὺς θεραπεύειν καὶ τῷ
πολεμικὸν εἶναι, φέ γε ὑπάρχουσι μὲν ὅμοροι
ἀντίπαλοι ἵππεῖς τε παραπλήσιοι τὸ πλῆθος καὶ
 2 ὅπλῖται πολλοί. καν μὲν εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν
ἐμβάλλειν ἐπιχειρῆ ἄνευ τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως, πρὸς

and obviously takes care that they have victuals, and that they are safe in retreat and well protected when at rest. In the garrisons he must show an interest in fodder, tents, water, firewood, and all other supplies: he must show that he thinks ahead and keeps his eyes open for the sake of his men. And when he is doing well the chief's best policy is to give them a share in his good things.

To put it shortly, a commander is least likely to incur the contempt of his men if he shows himself more capable than they of doing whatever he requires of them. He must therefore practise every detail of horsemanship—mounting and the rest,—that they may see their commander able to take a ditch without a spill, clear a wall, leap down from a bank and throw a javelin skilfully. For all these feats are so many stepping stones to their respect. If they know him also to be a master of tactics and able to put them in the way of getting the better of the enemy, and if besides, they are certain that he will never lead them against an enemy recklessly or without the gods' approval or in defiance of the sacrifices, all these conditions increase the men's readiness to obey their commander.

VII Every commander, then should have intelligence. The Athenian cavalry commander, however, should excel greatly both in the observance of his duty to the gods and in the qualities of a warrior, seeing that he has on his borders rivals in the shape of cavalry as numerous as his and large forces of infantry.¹ And if he attempts to invade the enemy's country without

¹ The Thebans are meant

¹ φρυγῶν Madvig φυλακῶν S with the MSS

² τάττειν B παττεῖν S with the other MSS

ἀμπετέρους τοῖτοι μόνοις ἢν τοῖς ἴππεσι εἰσ-
καὶ διεισίν. ἦν δὲ οἱ πολέμους εἰς τὸν Ἀθηναῖν
χώραν ἐμβάλλεσθαι, πρῶτον μὴ οἵς ἢν ἄλλως
ἐλθοιεν εἰ μὴ σὺν ἀλλοις τε ἴππεσι πρὸς τοῦ
ἔπιτῶν καὶ πρὸς τοῖτοις ὅπλιταις ὅποσοις ἢν
οἴονται τάγματα Ἀθηναῖοις μὴ ἰκανοῖς εἶναι
 3 μίχεσθαι. πρὸς οὖν τοσούτους πολεμίους ἢν
μὲν ἡ πόλις πᾶσα ἐπεξίη ἀρήξουσα τὴν χώραν
ἐλπίδες καλαί. ἴππεσι τε γὰρ σὺν θεῷ ἀμείνους,
ἢν τις αὐτῶν ἐπιμελῆται ὡς δεῖ, ὅπλιταί τε οἱ
μείονες ἔσονται καὶ τὰ σώματα τοίνιν οὐ χείρω
ἔχοντες καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς φιλοτιμότεροι, ἢν ὄρθως
ἀσκηθῶσι σὺν θεῷ. καὶ μήν τοι εἴ τι γε τοῖς προ-
γόνοις οὐ μείον Ἀθηναῖοι ἢ Βοιωτοὶ φροιοῦσιν.
 4 ἢν δὲ ἡ μὲν πόλις τρέπηται ἐπὶ τὰ γαντικά καὶ
ἀρκῇ αὐτῇ τὰ τείχη διασώζειν, ὥσπερ καὶ ὅποτε
Λακεδαιμόνιοι σὺν ἀπασι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐιέβαλον,
τοὺς δὲ ἵππεας ἀξιώσῃ¹ τά τε ἐκτὸς τοῦ τείχους
διασώζειν καὶ αὐτοὺς μόνους διακινδυνεύειν πρὸς
πάντας τοὺς ἑραντίους, ἐιταῦθα δὴ θεῶν μὲν
οἷμαι πρῶτον συμμάχων ἴσχυρῶν δεῖ, ἐπειτα δὲ
καὶ τὸν ἵππαρχον προσήκει ἀποτελεσμένον
ἄνδρα εἶναι. καὶ γὰρ φρονήσεως δεῖ πολλῆς
πρὸς τοὺς πολὺ πλείους καὶ τόλμης, ὅποτε καιρὸς
παραπέσοι.

5 Δεῖ δέ, ὡς ἔμοι δοκεῖ, καὶ πονεῖν αὐτὸν ἰκανὸν
εἶναι. πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὸ παρὸν στράτευμα δια-
κινδυνεύων, ως μηδὲ ὅλη ἡ πόλις θέλοι ἀντικαθί-

¹ ἀξιώσῃ Dindorf. ἀξιώσει S with the MSS.

² In the Peloponnesian War.

³ I have translated πονεῖν, but it is certainly not what X.

the other armed forces of the state, he will have to take his chance with the cavalry only against both arms. Or if the enemy invades Athenian territory, in the first place, he will certainly not fail to bring with him other cavalry besides his own and infantry in addition, whose numbers he reckons to be more than a match for all the Athenians put together. Now provided that the whole of the city's levies turn out against such a host in defence of their country, the prospects are good. For our cavalrymen, God helping, will be the better, if proper care is taken of them, and our heavy infantry will not be inferior in numbers, and I may add, they will be in as good condition and will show the keener spirit, if only, with God's help, they are trained on the right lines. And, remember, the Athenians are quite as proud of their ancestry as the Boeotians. But if the city falls back on her navy, and is content to keep her walls intact, as in the days when the Lacedaemonians invaded us with all the Greeks to help them,¹ and if she expects her cavalry to protect all that lies outside the walls, and to take its chance unaided against her foes,—why then, I suppose, we need first the strong arm of the gods to aid us, and in the second place it is essential that our cavalry commander should be masterly. For much sagacity is called for in coping with a greatly superior force, and abundance of courage when the call comes.

I take it, he must also be able to stand hard work² 5
For if he should elect to take his chance against the army confronting him—an army that not even the whole state is prepared to stand up to—it is evident wrote. The sequel demands the sense "he must be a man of sound judgment, *abrdy (with B) sparocir*"

στασθαι, δῆλον ὅτι πάσχοι ἀν ὁ τι οἱ κρείττους
 6 βούλοιντο, ποιεῖν δὲ οὐδέν ἀν ἵκανὸς εἶη. εἰ δὲ
 φυλάττοι μὲν τὰ ἔξω τείχους τοσούτοις, ὅσοι
 σκοπεύειν τε τοὺς πολεμίους ἵκανοι ἔσονται καὶ
 ἀναχωρίζειν εἰς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς τὰ δεόμενα ὡς ἐκ
 πλειστου· ἵκανοι δὲ καὶ προορᾶν οὐδὲν ἥττον οἱ
 ὄλιγοι τῶν πολλῶν καὶ φυλάττειν τοίνυν καὶ
 ἀναχωρίζειν τὰ φίλια οὐκ ἀκαιρότεροι οἱ μήτε
 7 αὐτοῖς μήτε τοῖς ἵπποις πιστεύοντες· ὁ γὰρ
 φόβος δεινὸς δοκεῖ συμφύλαξ εἶναι· τοὺς μὲν
 φύλακας ἐκ τούτων ἀν τις ποιῶν ἵσως ὀρθῶς
 βουλεύοιτο· τοὺς δὲ περιττοὺς τῆς φυλακῆς εἴ
 μέν τις στρατιὰν ἔχειν ἥγήσεται, ὄλιγη αὐτῷ
 φανεῖται· τοῦ παντὸς γὰρ ἐνδεήσεται ὡστε ἐκ
 τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς διακινδυνεύειν. ἦν δὲ ὡς λησταῖς
 αὐτοῖς χρῆται, πάνυ ἀν ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς ἵκανὴν τοῦτο
 8 πράττειν ἔχοι δύναμιν. δεῖ δέ, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ,
 τοὺς παρεσκευασμένους ἀεὶ ἔχοντα ὡς ποιεῖν τι
 μὴ καταφανῆ ὄντα φυλάττειν, ἦν τι ἀμαρτάνῃ
 9 τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στράτευμα. φιλοῦσι δέ πως
 στρατιῶται ὅσῳ ἀν πλείους ὡσι, τοσούτῳ πλείῳ
 ἀμαρτάνειν. ἡ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπιμελεῖα
 σκεδάννυνται ἡ πορευομένων ἀταξίᾳ οἱ μὲν πρ-
 ἔρχονται, οἱ δὲ ὑπολείπονται πλέον τοῦ καιροῦ.
 10 τὰ οὖν τοιαῦτα ἀμαρτήματα οὐ χρὴ παριέναι
 ἀκόλαστα· εἰ δὲ μή, ὅλη ἡ χώρα στρατοπεδον
 ἔσται· ἐκεῖνο καλῶς προνοοῦντα, ἦν ποιήσῃ τι,
 φθάσαι ἀποχωρίσαντα πρὶν τὸ πολὺ βοηθοῦν
 ἐπιγειέσθαι.

11 Πολλάκις δὲ πορευόμενον στράτευμα καὶ εἰς
 ὄδοὺς ἔρχεται, ἐν αἷς οὐδὲν πλεῖον οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν
 ὄλιγων δύνανται. καὶ ἐν διαβύσεσί γε ἔστι τῷ

that he would be entirely at the mercy of the stronger and incapable of doing anything. But should he 6 guard whatever lies outside the walls with a force that will be just sufficient to keep an eye on the enemy and to remove into safety from as great a distance as possible property that needs saving,—and a large force is not necessary for this a small force can keep a look out as well as a large one, and when it comes to guarding and removing the property of friends, men who have no confidence in themselves or their horses will meet the case, because Fear, it seems, is a 7 formidable member of a guard—well, it may perhaps be a sound plan to draw on these men for his guards But if he imagines that the number remaining over and above the guard constitutes an army, he will find it too small, for it will be utterly inadequate to risk a conflict in the open Let him use these men as raiders, and he will probably have a force quite sufficient for this purpose His business, it seems to 8 me, is to watch for any blunder on the enemy's part without showing himself, keeping men constantly on the alert and ready to strike It happens that, the 9 greater is the number of soldiers, the more they are apt to blunder Either they scatter deliberately in search of provisions, or they are so careless of order on the march that some get too far ahead, while others lag too far behind So he must not let such 10 blunders go unpunished, or the whole country will be occupied, only he must take good care to retire the moment he has struck, without giving time for the main supports to arrive on the scene

An army on the march often comes to roads where 11 large numbers have no advantage over small In crossing rivers, again, a man with his wits about

προσέχοιτι τὸν γοῦν ἀσφαλῶς ἐφεπομένῳ ταμεύ-
σασθαι, ὥστε ὅπόσοις ἀν βούληται τῶν πολεμίων
 12 ἐπιτίθεσθαι. ἔστι δ' ὅτε καλὸν καὶ στρατοπε-
δευομένοις καὶ ἀριστῶσι καὶ δειπνοποιουμένοις
ἐπιχειρεῖν καὶ ἐκ κοίτης γε ἀνισταμένοις. ἐν
πᾶσι γὰρ τούτοις ἀσπλοὶ στρατιῶται γίγνονται,
μείονα μὲν χρόνον οἱ ὄπλιται, πλείονα δὲ οἱ
 13 ἵππεῖς. σκοποῖς μέντοι καὶ προφυλακαῖς οὐδέ-
ποτε δεῖ παύεσθαι ἐπιβουλεύοντα. οὗτοι γὰρ
αὖ ὀλίγοι μὲν ἀεὶ καθίστανται, πολὺ δὲ τοῦ
 14 ἰσχυροῦ ἐνίστε ἀποστατοῦσιν. ὅταν δὲ τὰ τοιάντα
ἥδη καλῶς φυλάττωνται οἱ πολέμιοι, καλὸν ἔστι
σὺν θεῷ λαθόντα ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν με-
μελετηκότα, πόσοι τε ἐκασταχοῦ καὶ ποῦ τῆς
χώρας προφυλάττουσιν. οὐδεμία γὰρ οὕτω καλὴ
 15 λεία ὡς φυλακαί, ἦν κρατηθῶσι. καὶ εὐεξα-
πάτηται δ' εἰσὶν οἱ φύλακες· διώκουσι γὰρ ὁ τι
ἀν ὀλίγον ἴδωσι, νομίζοντές σφισι τοῦτο προσ-
τετάχθαι. τὰς μέντοι ἀποχωρήσεις σκοπεῖν δεῖ
ὅπως μὴ ἐναντίαι τοῖς βοηθοῦσιν ἔσονται.

VIII. Τοὺς μέντοι μέλλοντας δυνήσεσθαι ἀσφα-
λῶς τὸ πολὺ κρείττον στράτευμα κακουργεῖν
σαφῶς δεῖ τοσοῦτον διαφέρειν, ὥστε αὐτὸν μὲν
ἀσκητὰς φαίνεσθαι τῶν πολεμικῶν ἐν ἵππικῇ
 2 ἔργων, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους ἴδιώτας. τοῦτο δ' ἀν
εἴη πρῶτον μὲν εἰ οἱ ληίζεσθαι μέλλοντες ἐκπεπο-
νημένοι εἰεν τῇ ἐλάσει, ὥστε δύνασθαι στρατιω-
τικοὺς πόνους ὑποφέρειν. οἱ γὰρ πρὸς ταῦτα
ἀμελῶς ἔχοντες καὶ ἵπποι καὶ ἄνδρες εἰκότως ἀν
 3 ὥσπερ γυναικες πρὸς ἄνδρας ἀγωνίζοιντο. οἱ δέ
γε δεδιδαγμένοι τε καὶ εἰθισμένοι τάφρους δια-
πηδᾶν καὶ τειχία ὑπεραίρειν καὶ ἐπ' ὅχθους

him may dog the enemy's steps without danger and regulate according to his will the number of the enemy that he chooses to attack. Sometimes it 12 is proper to tackle the enemy while his troops are at breakfast or supper or when they are turning out of bed. For at all these moments soldiers are without arms, infantry for a shorter and cavalry for a longer time. Pickets and outposts, however, should be the 13 mark of incessant plots, these being invariably weak in numbers and sometimes remote from their main force. But when the enemy has learned to take 14 due precautions against such attacks, it is proper, with God's help, to enter his country stealthily after ascertaining his strength at various points and the position of his outposts. For no booty that you can capture is so fine as a patrol. Besides, patrols 15 are easily deceived, for they pursue a handful of men at sight, believing that to be their special duty. You must see, however, that your line of retreat does not lead you straight into the enemy's supports.

VIII It is clear, however, that no troops will be able to inflict loss on a much stronger army with impunity, unless they are so superior in the practical application of horsemanship to war that they show like experts contending with amateurs. This superiority can be attained first and foremost if your maulauding bands are so thoroughly drilled in riding that they can stand the hard work of a campaign. For both horses and men that are carelessly trained in this respect will naturally be like women struggling with men. On the contrary, those that are 3 taught and accustomed to jump ditches, leap walls,

ἀνάλλεσθαι καὶ ἀφ' ὑψηλῶν ἀσφαλῶς κατιέναι
καὶ τὰ κατάντη ταχὺ ἐλαύνεσθαι, οὗτοι δὲ αὐτοῦ
τοσοῦτον διαφέροιεν ἢν τῶν ἀμελετήτων ταῦτα
διστοπερ πτηνοὶ πεζῶν· οἱ δέ γε αὖ τοὺς τόδας
ἐκπεπονημένοι τῷ ἀτριβάστων πρὸς τραχέα
διστοπερ ὑγιεῖς χωλῶν καὶ οἵ γε τῶν τόπων
ἔμπειροι πρὸς τοὺς ἀπείρους τοσοῦτον ἐν ταῖς
προελάσεσι καὶ ἀποχωρήσεσι διαφέροιεν ἢν
διστοπερ οἱ ὄρῶντες τῶν τυφλῶν.

4 Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ χρὴ εἰδέναι, ὅτι οἱ εὐώχούμενοι
ἴπποι, ἐκπεπονημένοι δὲ ὥστε μὴ ἀποπνίγεσθαι
ἐν τοῖς πόνοις εὑν παρεσκευασμένοι εἰσὶ χρὴ δέ,
ἐπείπερ χαλινοὶ καὶ ἐφίππια ἐξ ἴμαντων ἡρτη
μένα ἔστι, ¹ μήποτε τὸν ἵππαρχον τούτων ἔρημον
εἶναι· μικρᾶ γάρ δαπάνη τοὺς ἀποροῦντας
χρησίμους ἢν παρέχοιτο

5 Εἰ δέ τις νομίζοι ² πολλὰ ἔχειν ἢν ³ πράγματα,
εἰ οὕτω δεήσει ἀσκεῖν τὴν ἵππικήν, ἐνθυμηθῆτω,
ὅτι οἱ εἰς τοὺς γυμνικοὺς ἀγῶνας ἀσκοῦντες πολὺ⁴
πλείω πράγματα καὶ χαλεπώτερα ἔχουσιν ή οἱ
6 τὴν ἵππικήν τὰ μάλιστα μελετῶντες. καὶ γάρ
τῶν μὲν γυμνικῶν ἀσκημάτων τὰ πολλὰ σὺν
ἰδρῶτι ἐκπονοῦνται, τῆς δὲ ἵππικῆς τὰ πλεῖστα
μεθ' ἡδονῆς. ὅπερ γάρ εὔξαιτ' ἢν τις πτηνὸς
γενέσθαι, οὐκέ τιν ὅ τι μᾶλλον τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων
7 ἔργων ἔοικεν αὐτῷ καὶ μὴν τό γ' ἐν πολέμῳ
νικᾶν πολλῷ ἐνδοξότερον ⁵ ή πυγμῇ μετέχει
μὲν γάρ τι καὶ ή πόλις ταυτης τῆς δοξῆς· ὡς δὲ
τὰ πολλὰ ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ πολέμου νίκη καὶ εὐδαι-

¹ έστι Courier. έστι χρήσιμα S with the MSS

² νομίζοι BM, νομίζει S with other MSS

³ ἢν B. S omits with the other MSS

⁴ ἐνδοξότερον B: εὐδοξότερον S with the other MSS

spring up banks, leap down from heights without a spill, and gallop down steep places, will be as superior to the men and horses that lack this training as birds to beasts. Moreover, those that have their feet well hardened will differ on rough ground from the tender-footed as widely as the sound from the lame. And those that are familiar with the locality, compared with those to whom it is unfamiliar, will differ in the advance and retreat as much as men with eyes differ from the blind.

It should also be realised that horses, to be well settled, must be well fed and thoroughly exercised, so as to do their work without suffering from heaves. And since bits and saddle cloths are fastened with straps, a cavalry leader must never be short of them, for at a trifling expense he will make men in difficulties efficient.

In case anyone feels that his troubles will be endless if his duty requires him to practise horsemanship in this way, let him reflect that men in training for gymnastic contests face troubles far more numerous and exacting than the most strenuous votaries of horsemanship. For most gymnastic exercises are carried out with sweat and drudgery, but nearly all equestrian exercises are pleasant work.¹ For if it is true that any man would like to fly, no action of man bears a closer resemblance to flying. And, remember, it is far more glorious to win a victory in war than in a boxing match, because, whereas the state as well as the victor has a considerable share in this glory,² for a victory in war the gods generally

¹ *Cyropaedia* IV iii. 15.

² He does not express himself clearly, but by "this glory" he means "the glory of a victory whether won in war or in the games."

μονία οἱ θεοὶ τὰς πόλεις στεφανοῦσιν. ὥστ' οὐκ
οἶδ' ἔγωγε, τί προσήκει ἄλλ' ἄττα μᾶλλον ἀσκεῖ-
σθαι ἡ τὰ πολεμικά. ἐννοεῖν δὲ χρή, ὅτι καὶ οἱ
κατὰ θάλατταν λησταὶ διὰ τὸ πονεῖν ἡσκηκέναι
δύνανται ζῆν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πολὺ κρείττονων.
προσήκει γε μὴν καὶ κατὰ γῆν οὐ τοῖς καρπου-
μένοις τὰ ἑαυτῶν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς στερισκομένοις τῆς
τροφῆς ληίζεσθαι. ἡ γὰρ ἐργαστέον ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν
εἰργασμένων θρεπτέον ἄλλως δ' οὐ ρᾶδιον οὔτε
βιοτεύειν οὔτε εἰρίγνης τυχεῖν.

Μεμνῆσθαι δὲ κάκεῖνο χρή, μήποτε ἐπὶ τοὺς
κρείττους ἐλαύνειν δπισθεν ἵπποις δύσβατον
ποιούμενον· οὐ γὰρ ὅμοιον φεύγοντι καὶ διώκοντι
σφαλῆναι.

"Ετι δὲ βούλομαι ὑπομνῆσαι καὶ τόδε φυλάττε-
σθαι. εἰσὶ γάρ τινες, οἱ ὅταν μὲν ἴωσιν ἐπὶ τού-
τους, ὃν ἀν οἰωνται κρείττους εἶναι, παντάπασιν
ἀσθενεῖ δυνάμει ἕρχονται, ὥστε πολλάκις ἐπαθον
ἄῳοντο ποιήσειν· ὅταν δὲ ἐπὶ τούτους, ὃν ἀν
σαφῶς ἐπίστωνται ἡττους δύντες, πᾶσαν ὅσην ἀν
ἔχωσι δύναμιν ἄγουσιν. ἐγὼ δέ φημι χρῆναι
τάναντία τούτων ποιεῖν· ὅταν μὲν κρατήσειν
οἴόμενος ἄγῃ, μὴ φείδεσθαι τῆς δυνάμεως, ὅσην
ἀν ἔχῃ. τὸ γὰρ πολὺ νικᾶν οὐδενὶ πώποτε μετα-
μέλειαν παρέσχεν. ὅταν δὲ τοῖς πολὺ κρείττοσιν
ἐπιχειρῇ καὶ προγιγνώσκῃ, ὅτι ποιήσαντα ὅ τι
ἀν δύνηται φευκτέον ἔστιν, εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτά φημι
πολὺ κρείττον εἶναι ὀλίγους ἡ πάντας προσάγειν,
τοὺς μέντοι ἀπειλεγμένους καὶ ἵππους καὶ ἄνδρας
τοὺς κρατίστους. τοιοῦτοι γὰρ δύντες καὶ ποιῆσαι

¹ Hellenica vi. v. 51.

crown states with happiness as well. For my part, therefore, I know not why any art should be more assiduously cultivated than the arts of war. It should be noticed that a long apprenticeship to 8 toil enables sea-pirates to live at the expense of much stronger folk. On land, too, pillage, though not for those who reap what they have sown, is the natural resource of men who are deprived of food. For either men must work or they must eat the fruits of other men's labour: else it is a problem how to live and to obtain peace.

If you charge a superior force, you must remember 9 never to leave behind you ground difficult for horses. For a fall in retreat and a fall in pursuit are very different things.

I want to add a word of warning against another 10 error. Some men, when they suppose themselves to be stronger than the enemy whom they are going to attack, take an utterly inadequate force with them.¹ The consequence is that they are apt to incur the loss they expected to inflict. Or, when they know themselves to be weaker than the enemy, they use all their available strength in the attack. The right procedure, in my opinion, is just the 11 opposite: when the commander expects to win, he should not hesitate to use the whole of his strength: for an overwhelming victory never yet was followed by remorse. But when he tries conclusions 12 with a much stronger force, knowing beforehand that he is bound to retreat when he has done his best, I hold that it is far better in such a case to throw a small part of his strength into the attack than the whole of it; *only horses and men alike* should be his very best. For such a force will be

- άν τι καὶ ὑποχωρῆσαι ἀσφαλέστερον ἀν δύναιντο.
- 13 ὅταν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς κρείττους πάντας προσαγαγὼν ἀποχωρεῖν βούληται, ἀνάγκη τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν βραδυτάτων ἵππων ἀλίσκεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ καὶ δι' ἀφιππίαν¹ πίπτειν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ διὰ δυσχωρίας ἀπολαμβάνεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ πολὺν τόπον χαλεπὸν
- 14 εὑρεῖν οἷον ἄν τις εὗξαιτο. ὑπό γε μὴν τοῦ πλῆθους καὶ συμπίπτοιεν ἄν καὶ ἐμποδίζοντες πολλὰ ἄν ἀλλήλους κακουργοῦεν. οἱ δ' ἀγαθοὶ ἵπποι καὶ ἵππεῖς δυνατοὶ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν² διαφεύγειν, ἄλλως τε ἄν καὶ μηχανᾶται τις τοῖς διώκουσι φόβον ἀπὸ τῶν περιττῶν ἵππεων.
- 15 σύμφορον δ' εἰς τοῦτο καὶ αἱ ψευδενέδραι· χρήσιμον δὲ κάκεῖνο, τὸ εὐρίσκειν πόθεν ἄν οἱ φίλοι ἐξ ἀσφαλοῦς ἐπιφαινόμενοι βραδυτέρους τοὺς
- 16 διώκοντας παρέχοιεν. ἄλλὰ μὴν καὶ τόδε δῆλον, ὡς πόνοις καὶ τάχει οἱ ὀλίγοι τῶν πολλῶν πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ὀλίγων περιγέγνοιτο³ ἄν. καὶ οὐ λέγω, ὡς διὰ τὸ ὀλίγοι εἶναι καὶ πονεῖν μᾶλλον δυνήσονται καὶ θάτους ἔσονται, ἄλλ' ὅτι ῥάσιν εὑρεῖν ὀλίγους ἢ πολλοὺς τοὺς καὶ τῶν ἵππων ἐπιμελησομένους ὡς δεῖ καὶ αὐτοὺς φρονίμως μελετήσοντας τὴν ἵππικήν.
- 17 *Αν δέ ποτε συμβαίνῃ ἀγωνίζεσθαι πρὸς παραπλησίους ἵππέας, ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι οὐκ ἄν χεῖρον εἶναι, εἴ τις δύο τάξεις ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς ποιήσειε καὶ τῆς μὲν ὁ φύλαρχος ἥγοιτο, τῆς δὲ ἄλλης ὅστις
- 18 ἄριστος δοκοίη εἶναι, οὗτος δὲ τέως μὲν ἔποιτο κατ' οὐρὰν τῆς μετὰ τοῦ φυλάρχου τάξεως, ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς ἥδη εἴεν οἱ ἀντίπαλοι, ἀπὸ παραγ-

¹ ἀφιππίαν is a correction in B: ἀφιππεῖαν S. with the MSS.

able to achieve something and to retreat with less risk. But when he has thrown the whole of his strength into an attack on a stronger force, and wants to retire, the men on the slowest mounts are bound to be taken prisoners, others to be thrown through lack of horsemanship, and others to be cut off owing to inequalities in the ground, since it is hard to find a wide expanse of country entirely to your liking. Moreover, owing to their numbers they will collide and hinder and hurt one another frequently. But good horses and men will contrive to escape, especially if you manage to scare the pursuers by using your reserves. Sham ambuscades, too, are helpful for this purpose. It is also useful to discover on what quarter your friends may suddenly reveal themselves in a safe position and make the pursuit slower. Then again it is obvious that in point of endurance and speed the advantage is much more likely to rest with a small than with a large force. I do not mean that mere paucity of numbers will increase the men's powers of endurance and add to their speed, but it is easier to find few men than many who will take proper care of their horses and will practise the art of horsemanship intelligently on their own account.

Should it happen at any time that the cavalry forces engaged are about equal, I think it would be a good plan to split each regiment into two divisions, putting one under the command of the colonel, and the other under the best man available. The latter would follow in the rear of the colonel's division for a time, but presently, when the adversary is near,

* *autus* Bindorf *autus* S with the MSS

γέλσεως παρελαύγοι ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. οὗτοι
 γὰρ οἴμαι καὶ ἐκπληκτικωτέρους τοῖς ἔχθροῖς ἀν
 εἶναι καὶ δυσμαχωτέρους. εἰ δὲ πεζοὺς ἔχοιεν
 ἑκάτεροι, καὶ οὗτοι ἀποκεκρυμμένοι ὅπισθεν τῶν
 ἵππέων, ἐξαπίνης δὲ παραφαινόμενοι καὶ ὅμόσε
 ἴόντες δοκοῦσιν ἂν μοι τὴν νίκην πολὺ μᾶλλον
 κατεργάζεσθαι. ὅρω γὰρ τὰ παράδοξα ἦν μὲν
 ἀγαθὰ ἦν, μᾶλλον εὐφραίνοντα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους,
 20 ἦν δὲ δεινά, μᾶλλον ἐκπλήττοντα. ταῦτα δὲ
 γνοίη ἂν τις μάλιστα ἐνθυμούμενος, ώς οὖτε
 ἐνέδραις ἐμπίπτοντες ἐκπλήττονται, καὶ ἐὰν
 πολὺ πλείους ὡσι· καὶ ὅταν πολέμοις ἀλλήλοις
 ἀντικάθωνται, ώς πολὺ ταῖς πρώταις ἡμέραις
 φοβερώτατα ἔχουσιν.

21 Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν διατάξαι ταῦτα οὐ χαλεπόν τὸ
 δ' εὔρεῖν τοὺς φρονίμως καὶ πιστῶς καὶ προθύμως
 καὶ εὐψύχως παρελῶντας ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους,
 22 τοῦτο ἥδη ἀγαθοῦ ἵππαρχου. δεῖ γὰρ καὶ
 λέγειν αὐτὸν ἵκανὸν εἶναι καὶ ποιεῖν τοιαῦτα, ἀφ'
 ὧν οἱ ἀρχόμενοι γνώσονται ἀγαθὸν εἶναι τό τε
 πείθεσθαι καὶ τὸ ἔπεσθαι καὶ τὸ ὅμόσε ἐλαύνειν
 τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ ἐπιθυμήσονται τοῦ καλόν τι
 ἀκούειν καὶ δυνήσονται ἂν γνῶσιν ἐγκαρτερεῖν.

23 Ἐὰν δέ ποτε αὖ ἡ φαλάγγων ἀντιτεταγμένων
 ἡ χωρίων ἐκατέροις ὑπαρχόντων ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τοῖς
 ἵππεῦσιν ἀναστροφαί τε καὶ διώξεις καὶ ἀποχω-
 ρήσεις γίγνωνται, εἰώθασι μὲν ώς τὰ πολλὰ ἐκ
 τῶν τοιούτων ὅρμᾶν μὲν¹ βραδέως ἀμφότεροι,
 24 τὸ δὲ ἐν μέσῳ τάχιστα ἐλαύνειν. ἦν δέ τις οὕτω
 προδείξας ἔπειτα² ἐκ τῶν ἀναστροφῶν ταχέως

¹ S. reads δρμᾶν μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἀναστροφῶν with the MSS. : ~~τῶν ἀναστροφῶν~~ is rightly removed by Rühl.

he would wheel on receiving the order and charge. This plan, I think, would make the blow delivered by the regiment more stunning and more difficult to parry. Both divisions should have an infantry contingent, and if the infantry, hidden away behind the cavalry, came out suddenly and went for the enemy, I think they would prove an important factor in making the victory more decisive, for I have noticed that a surprise cheers men up if it is pleasant, but stuns them if it is alarming. Anyone will recognise the truth of this who reflects that, however great their advantage in numbers, men are dazed when they fall into an ambuscade, and that two hostile armies confronting each other are scared out of their wits for the first few days.

There is no difficulty in adopting these tactics, but only a good cavalry commander can find men who will show intelligence, reliability and courage in wheeling to charge the enemy. For the commander must be capable both by his words and action of making the men under him realize that it is good to obey, to back up their leader, and to charge home, of firing them with a desire to win commendation, and of enabling them to carry out their intentions with persistence.

Suppose now that the cavalry are busy in the no man's land that separates two battle lines drawn up face to face or two strategic positions, wheeling, pursuing and retreating. After such manœuvres both sides usually start off at a slow pace, but gallop at full speed in the unoccupied ground. But if a commander first feints in this manner, and then after

* See in Hartman's *Forts & S* with the MSS.

τε διώκη καὶ ταχέως ἀποχωρῆ, βλάπτειν τ' ἀν
μᾶλιστα τοὺς πολεμίους δύναιτο καὶ ώς τὸ εἰκὸς
ἀσφαλέστατ' ἀν διάγοι, ταχὺ μὲν διώκων ἐν ὧ
ἀν ἐγγὺς ἦ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ἴσχυροῦ, ταχὺ δὲ ἀπο-
χωρῶν ἀπὸ τῶν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἴσχυρῶν. εἰ δὲ
καὶ λαθεῖν δύναιτο ἀπὸ τῆς τάξεως ἐκάστης
καταλιπὼν ἢ τέτταρας ἢ πέντε τῶν κρατίστων
ἴππων τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν, πολὺ ἀν προέχοιεν εἰς τὸ
ἐπαναστρεφομένοις τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐμπίπτειν.

IX. Ταῦτα δὲ ἀναγιγνώσκειν μὲν καὶ ὀλιγάκις
ἀρκεῖ, ἐννοεῖν¹ δὲ τὸ παρατυγχάνον αὐτῷ ἀεὶ²
δεῖ καὶ πρὸς τὸ παριστάμενον σκοποῦντα τὸ
συμφέρον ἐκπονεῖν. γράψαι δὲ πάντα, ὅπόσα
δεῖ ποιεῖν, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον οἰόν τέ ἔστιν ἢ τὰ μέλ-
2 λοντα πάντα εἰδέναι. πάντων δὲ τῶν ὑπομνη-
μάτων ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ κράτιστον εἶναι τὸ ὅσα ἀν
γνῶ ἀγαθὰ εἶναι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ώς ἀν πραχθῆ.
ὅρθως δὲ γιγνωσκόμενα οὐ φέρει καρπὸν οὔτε ἐν
γεωργίᾳ οὗτ' ἐν ναυκληρίᾳ οὗτ' ἐν ἀρχῇ, ἢν μή
τις ἐπιμελῆται ώς ἀν ταῦτα σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς³
ἐκπεραίνηται.⁴

3 Φημὶ δ' ἐγὼ⁵ καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἵππικὸν ὡδὸν ἀν
πολὺ θᾶττον ἐκπληρωθῆναι εἰς τοὺς χιλίους ἵ-
ππέας καὶ πολὺ ἥπον τοῖς πολίταις, εἰ διακοσίους
ἵππεis ξένους καταστήσαιντο· δοκοῦσι γὰρ ἀν

¹ ἐννοεῖν Madvig: ποιεῖν S with the MSS

² αὐτῷ del BM: ἀεὶ αὐτῷ S with other MSS

³ The MSS have πο σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς here, but have ταῦτα σὺν
τοῖς θεοῖς in the next sentence—see next note but one. S follows the text of the MSS., the correction is by Madvig.

⁴ ἐκπεραίνηται B περαίνηται S with the other MSS.

⁵ ἐγὼ ταῦτα S with the MSS : ταῦτα was removed by
Lenklau.

wheeling, pursues and retreats at the gallop he will be able to inflict the greatest loss on the enemy, and will probably come through with the least harm, by pursuing at the gallop so long as he is near his own defences, and retreating at the gallop from the enemy's defences. If, moreover, he can secretly 25 leave behind him four or five of the best horses and men in each division, they will be at a great advantage in falling on the enemy as he is turning to renew the charge.

IX To read these suggestions a few times is enough, but it is always necessary for the commander to hit on the right thing at the right moment, to think of the present situation and to carry out what is expedient in view of it. To write out all that he ought to do is no more possible than to know everything that is going to happen. The 2 most important of all my hints, I think, is this. Whatever you decide to be best, see that it gets done. Whether you are a farmer,¹ a skipper or a commander, sound decisions bear no fruit unless you see to it that, with heaven's help,² they are duly carried out.

Further, I am of opinion that the full complement 3 of a thousand cavalry would be raised much more quickly and in a manner much less burdensome to the citizens if they established a force of two hundred foreign cavalry.³ For I believe that the

¹ *Oeconomics* xi. 8

² This expression undoubtedly comes here, compare especially the maxim "Act with god" (§ 8) and the end of the *Ways and Means*.

³ The 200 mercenaries would be included in the total of 1000

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΙΠΠΙΚΗΣ

I. Ἐπειδὴ διὰ τὸ συμβῆναι ἡμῖν πολὺν χρόνον ἵππεύειν οἰόμεθα ἔμπειροι ἵππικῆς γεγενῆσθαι, βουλόμεθα καὶ τοῖς νεωτέροις τῶν φίλων δηλῶσαι, ὃ ἀν νομίζομεν αὐτοὺς ὀρθότατα ἵπποις προσφέρεσθαι συνέγραψε μὲν οὖν καὶ Σίμων περὶ ἵππικῆς, ὃς καὶ τὸν κατὰ τὸ Ἀθήνησιν Ἐλευσίνιον ἵππον χαλκοῦν ἀνέθηκε καὶ ἐν τῷ βάθρῳ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἔργα ἔξετύωσεν. ἡμεῖς γε μέντοι ὅσοις συιετύχομεν ταῦτα γιόντες ἔκεινω, οὐκ ἔξαλείφομεν ἐκ τῶν ἡμετέρων, ἀλλὰ πολὺ ἥδιον παραδώσομεν αὐτὰ τοῖς φίλοις, νομίζοντες ἀξιοπιστότεροι εἶναι, ὅτι κἀκεῖνος κατὰ ταῦτα ἡμῖν ἔγνω ἵππικὸς ὥν καὶ ὅσα δὴ παρέλιπει, ἡμεῖς πειρασθεῖα δηλῶσαι.

Πρῶτον δὲ γράψομεν, ὡς ἂν τις ἦκιστα ἔξαπατῶτο ἐν ἵππωνείᾳ.

Τοῦ μὲν τοίνυν ἔτι ἀδαμάστου πώλου δῆλον ὅτι τὸ σῶμα δεῖ δοκιμάζειν· τῆς γὰρ ψυχῆς οὐ τάνυ σαφῆ τεκμήρια ταρέχεται ὁ μηπω ἀναβαπόμειος.

2 Τοῦ γε μὴν σώματος τρῶτον φαμεν χρῆιας τοὺς -όδας σκοτεῖν. ὥστερ γὰρ οἰκίας οὐδὲν

¹ A considerable fragment of this work survives in a MS. in Fm.-anuel C. Pege, Carib. Ige. The most recent editions are those of Oder and Kühl. The "cavalry commander"

ON THE ART OF HORSEMANSHIP

I INASMUCH as we have had a long experience of cavalry, and consequently claim familiarity with the art of horsemanship, we wish to explain to our younger friends what we believe to be the correct method of dealing with horses. True there is already a treatise on horsemanship by Simon,¹ who also dedicated the bronze horse in the Eleusinum at Athens and recorded his own feats in relief on the pedestal. Nevertheless, we shall not erase from our work the conclusions that happen to coincide with his but shall offer them to our friends with far greater pleasure, in the belief that they are more worthy of acceptance because so expert a horseman held the same opinions as we ourselves moreover, we shall try to explain all the points that he has omitted.

First we will give directions how best to avoid being cheated in buying a horse.

For judging an unbroken colt, the only criterion, obviously, is the body, for no clear signs of temper are to be detected in an animal that has not yet had a man on his back.

In examining his body, we say you must first look at his feet. For, just as a house is bound to be worth-named Simon referred to in Aristophanes *Knights* 212, is just a member of the chorus, but the name probably recalls the author.

XENOPHON

δόφελος ἀν εἴη, εἰ τὰ ἄνω πάνυ καλὰ ἔχοι μὴ
ὑποκειμένων οἶων δεῖ θεμελίων, οὕτω καὶ ἵππουν
πολεμιστηρίου οὐδὲν ἀν δόφελος εἴη, οὐδ' εἰ τάλλα
πάντα ἀγαθὰ ἔχοι, κακόπους δ' εἴη· οὐδενὶ γὰρ
ἀν δύναιτο τῶν ἀγαθῶν χρῆσθαι.

3 Πόδας δ' ἀν τις δοκιμάζοι πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς
δύνυχας σκοπῶν· οἱ γὰρ παχεῖς πολὺ τῶν λεπτῶν
διαφέρουσιν εἰς εὔποδίαν· ἐπειτα οὐδὲ τοῦτο δεῖ
λανθάνειν, πότερον αἱ ὄπλαι εἰσιν ὑψηλαὶ ἢ
ταπειναὶ καὶ ἔμπροσθεν καὶ ὅπισθεν ἢ χαμηλαὶ.
αἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑψηλαὶ πόρρω ἀπὸ τοῦ δαπέδου
ἔχουσι τὴν χελιδόνα καλουμένην, αἱ δὲ ταπειναὶ
ὅμοιῶς βαίνουσι τῷ τε ἴσχυροτάτῳ καὶ τῷ
μαλακωτάτῳ τοῦ ποδός, ὥσπερ οἱ βλαισοὶ τῶν
ἀνθρώπων· καὶ τῷ ψόφῳ δέ φησι Σίμων δήλους
εἶναι τοὺς εὔποδας, καλῶς λέγων· ὥσπερ γὰρ
κύμβαλον ψοφεῖ πρὸς τῷ δαπέδῳ ἡ κοίλη ὄπλῃ.

4 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡρξάμεθα ἔντεῦθεν, ταύτη καὶ ἀνα-
βησόμεθα πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα.

Δεῖ τοίνυν καὶ τὰ ἀνωτέρω μὲν τῶν ὄπλῶν
κατωτέρω δὲ τῶν κυνηγόδων ὁστᾶ μήτε ἄγαν
ὅρθα εἶναι ὥσπερ αἰγός· ἀντιτυπώτερα γὰρ ὅντα
κόπτει τε τὸν ἀναβάτην καὶ παραπίμπραται
μᾶλλον τὰ τοιαῦτα σκέλη· οὐδὲ μὴν ἄγαν ταπεινὰ
τὰ ὁστᾶ δεῖ εἶναι· ψιλοῖντο γὰρ ἀν καὶ ἐλκοῖντο οἱ
κυνήγοδες εἴτ' ἐν βώλοις εἴτ' ἐν λίθοις ἐλαύνοιτο
ό ἵππος.

5 Τῶν γε μὴν κυνημῶν τὰ ὁστᾶ παχέα χρὴ εἶναι·
ταῦτα γάρ ἔστι στήριγγες τοῦ ὕματος· οὐ

less if the foundations are unsound, however well the upper parts may look, so a war horse will be quite useless, even though all his other points are good, if he has bad feet, for in that case he will be unable to use any of his good points

When testing the feet first look to the hoofs. For 3 it makes a great difference in the quality of the feet if they are thick rather than thin. Next you must not fail to notice whether the hoofs are high both in front and behind, or low. For high hoofs have the frog, as it is called, well off the ground, but flat hoofs tread with the strongest and weakest part of the foot simultaneously, like a bow legged man. Moreover, Simon says that the ring, too, is a clear test of good feet and he is right, for a hollow hoof rings like a cymbal in striking the ground.¹

Having begun here, we will proceed upwards by 4 successive steps to the rest of the body.

The bones (of the pastern) above the hoofs and below the fetlocks should not be too upright, like a goat's such legs give too hard a tread, jar the rider, and are more liable to inflammation. Nor yet should the bones be too low,² else the fetlocks are likely to become bare and sore when the horse is ridden over clods or stones.

The bones of the shanks should be thick,³ since 5 these are the pillars of the body, but not thick with

criticism is certainly just"—Berenger i, 221. Yet it is unlikely that Simon and X were both mistaken.

* "The pasterns (of the hackney) should neither be too oblique, which bespeaks weakness nor too straight which wears the horse out and is unpleasant to the rider.—Blair in Loudon's *Agriculture*

* "Wide" would be a more suitable word.

μέντοι φλεψὶ γε οὐδὲ σαρξὶ παχέα· εἰ δὲ μή,
ὅταν ἐν σκληροῖς ἔλαύνηται, ἀνάγκη αἷματος
ταῦτα πληροῦσθαι καὶ κρισσοὺς γίγνεσθαι καὶ
παχύνεσθαι μὲν τὰ σκέλη, ἀφίστασθαι δὲ τὸ
δέρμα. χαλῶντος δὲ τούτου πολλάκις καὶ ἡ
περόνη ἀποστᾶσα χωλὸν ἀπέδειξε τὸν ἵππον.

6 Τά γε μὴν γόνατα ἡ βαδίζων ὁ πῶλος ὑγρῶς
κάμπτῃ, εἰκάζοις ἀν καὶ ἵππεύοντα ὑγρὰ ἔξειν τὰ
σκέλη· πάντες γὰρ προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου ὑγρο-
τέρως κάμπτουσιν ἐν τοῖς γόνασι. τὰ δὲ ὑγρὰ
δικαίως εὔδοκιμεῖ· ἀπταιστότερον γὰρ καὶ ἀκο-
πώτερον τὸν ἵππον τῶν σκληρῶν σκελῶν
παρέχει.

7 Μηροί γε μέντοι οἱ ὑπὸ ταῖς ὠμοπλάταις ἥν
παχεῖς ὡσιν, ἴσχυρότεροί τε καὶ εὐπρεπέστεροι
ῶσπερ ἄνδρὸς φαινονται.

Καὶ μὴν στέρνα πλατύτερα δύντα καὶ πρὸς
κάλλος καὶ πρὸς ἴσχὺν καὶ πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐπαλλάξ-
ἀλλὰ διὰ πολλοῦ τὰ σκέλη φέρειν εὐφυέστερα.

8 Ἀπό γε μὴν τοῦ στέρνου ὁ μὲν αὐχὴν αὐτοῦ μὴ
ῶσπερ κάπρου προπετὴς πεφύκοι, ἀλλ’ ὕσπερ
ἄλεκτρυόνος ὄρθος πρὸς τὴν κορυφὴν ἥκοι, λαγα-
ρὸς δὲ εἴη τὰ κατὰ τὴν συγκαμπήν, ἡ δὲ κεφαλὴ
ὅστῳδης οὖσα μικρὰν σιαγόνα ἔχοι. οὕτως ὁ μὲν
τράχηλος πρὸ τοῦ ἀναβάτου ἀν εἴη, τὸ δὲ ὅμμα
τὰ πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν ὄρθη. καὶ βιάζεσθαι δὲ ἥκιστ'
ἀν δύναιτο ὁ τοιοῦτον σχῆμα ἔχων καὶ εἰ πάνυ
θυμοειδῆς εἴη· οὐ γὰρ ἐγκάμπτοντες, ἀλλ’ ἐκτεί-
νοντες τὸν τράχηλον καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν βιάζεσθαι
οἱ ἵπποι ἐπιχειροῦσι.

¹ The Greek word means the fibula in man, but the fibula, of course, is no part of the shank in the horse. Morgan 300

veins nor with flesh, else when the horse is ridden over hard ground, these parts are bound to become charged with blood and varicose, the legs will swell, and the skin will fall away, and when this gets loose the pin,¹ too, is apt to give way and lame the horse

If the colt's knees are supple when bending as he walks, you may guess that his legs will be supple when he is ridden too, for all horses acquire greater suppleness at the knee as time goes on. Supple knees are rightly approved, since they render the horse less likely to stumble and tire than stiff legs.

The arms below the shoulders,² as in man, are stronger and better looking if they are thick.

A chest of some width is better formed both for appearance and for strength, and for carrying the legs well apart without crossing.

His neck should not hang downwards from the chest like a boar's, but stand straight up to the crest, like a cock's,³ but it should be flexible at the bend, and the head should be bony, with a small cheek. Thus the neck will protect the rider, and the eye see what lies before the feet.⁴ Besides, a horse of such a mould will have least power of running away, be he never so high spirited, for horses do not arch the neck and head, but stretch them out when they try to run away.

rightly says that X. writes throughout of the horse as he appears outwardly, and not of the skeleton (with which he was unacquainted), and that the allusion is to the back sinew of the shin.

* The forearm, not the true arm, which X. includes in the chest.

* The horse should not be "cock throttled."

* He will not be a "star gazer."

9 Σεο-εἰρ ἐλ χρὴ καὶ εἰ ἀνθρώποις μαλακοῖσιν
γηίσθοι ἡ σκληρία, αἱ δὲ ἡ ἔτερα. ἕτεροι γέρα-
δέ τὰ σολλάσι μὴ ὄμοιας τὰς γηάσινται ἔχοντες,
γῆραις ταῖς.

Καὶ μήτε τὸ ἔξοδοθαλυον εἴναι ἐγρηγόρος μᾶλλον
φαίνεται τοῦ κοιλοθύλμου, καὶ εἴ-τε λείος δὲ ἀν-
10 ὁ τοιοῦτος ὄροψις, καὶ μητῆρες γε οἱ ἀνα-επτα-
μένοι τῶν συμ-επτωκότων εἰ-τούτοις τε ἄμα
εἰσὶ καὶ γοργότερον τὸν ἕτερον ἀποσεικνίσοισι,
καὶ γὰρ ὅταν ὄργιζηται ἕτος ἕτερη ἡ ἐν ἵππασιδ
θυμῶται, εἰρίει μᾶλλον τοὺς μητῆρας.

11 Καὶ μὴν κορυφὴ μὲν μείζων, ὥτα δὲ μικρότερα
ἵππωδεστέραι τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποφαίνεται.

'Η δ' αὖ ὑψηλὴ ἀκρωμία τῷ τε ἀπάτῃ ἀσφα-
λεστέραιν τὴν ἔδραν καὶ τοῖς ὕμοις¹ ἰσχυρότεραι
τὴν τρόσφυσιν παρέχεται.

'Ράχις γε μὴν ἡ διτλῆ τῆς ἀτλῆς καὶ ἐγκα-
θῆσθαι μαλακωτέρα καὶ ἴδειν ἡδίων.

12 Καὶ τλευρὰ δὲ ἡ βαθυτέρα καὶ τρὸς τὴν γαστέρα
δύκωδεστέρα ἄμα εὐεδρότερόν τε καὶ ἰσχυρότεροι
καὶ εὐχειλότερον ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ τὸν ἵπποι
παρέχεται.

'Οσφὺς γε μὴν ὅσφω ἀν πλατυτέρα καὶ βραχυτέρα
ἡ, τοσούτῳ ρᾶσιν μὲν ὁ ἵππος τὰ πρόσθεν αἱρεται,
ρᾶσιν δὲ τὰ ὅπισθεν προσάγεται καὶ ὁ κενεὼν δὲ
οὗτῳ μικρότατος φαίνεται, ὅσπερ μέγας ὧν μέρος
μέν τι καὶ αἰσχύνει ει, μέρος δέ τι καὶ ἀσθενέστερον
καὶ δυσφορώτερον αὐτὸν τὸν ἵππον παρέχεται.

13 Τά γε μὴν ἴσχία πλατέα μὲν εἶναι χρὴ καὶ
εὔσαρκα, ἵνα ἀκόλουθα ἡ ταῖς πλευραῖς καὶ τοῖς
στέρνοις· ἦν δὲ πάντα στερεὰ ἡ, κουφότερα ἀν τὰ

¹ ὕμοις Schneider: ὕμοις καὶ τῷ σώματι S with the MSS.

You should notice, too, whether both jaws are soft 9 or hard, or only one, for horses with unequal jaws are generally unequally sensitive in the mouth

A prominent eye looks more alert than one that is hollow, and, apart from that, it gives the horse a greater range of vision 10 And wide open nostrils afford room for freer breathing than close ones, and at the same time make the horse look fiercer, for whenever a horse is angry with another or gets excited under his rider, he dilates his nostrils

A furly large crest and fairly small ears give the 11 more characteristic shape to a horse's head

High withers offer the rider a safer seat and a stronger grip on the shoulders

The double back¹ is both softer to sit on than the single and more pleasing to the eye

The deeper the flanks and the more swelling 12 toward the belly, the firmer is the seat and the stronger, and as a rule, the better feeder is the horse

The broader and shorter the loins, the more easily the horse lifts his fore quarters and the more easily he brings up his hind quarters. And, apart from that, the belly looks smallest so, and if it is big it disfigures the horse to some extent, and also makes him to some extent both weaker and clumsier

The haunches must be broad and fleshy, that 13 they may be in right proportion to the flanks and chest, and if they are firm all over, they will

¹ "That was before the days of saddles and horsemen had a tender interest in the double back—the characteristic back of dappled horses.—Loeck Horses p. 114. "D per ag tur per lumbos ep na," says Virgil (*Georg.* iii. 67)

9 Σκοπεῖν δὲ χρὴ καὶ εἰ ἀμφότεραι μαλακαὶ αἱ γυνάθοι ἡ σκληρὰ ἡ ἡ ἔτέρα. ἔτερόγναθοι γὰρ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ οἱ μὴ ὁμοίας τὰς γυάθους ἔχοντες γίγνονται.

Καὶ μὴν τὸ ἔξοφθαλμον εἴναι ἐγρηγορὸς μᾶλλον φαίνεται τοῦ κοιλοφθάλμου, καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον δ' ἀν 10 ὁ τοιοῦτος ὄρώη. καὶ μυκτῆρές γε οἱ ἀγαπεπταμένοι τῶν συμπεπτωκότων εὐπνοώτεροί τε ἀμα εἰσὶ καὶ γοργότερον τὸν ἵππον ἀποδεικνύουσι. καὶ γὰρ ὅταν ὄργιζηται ἵππος ἵππῳ ἡ ἐν ἵππασίᾳ θυμῶται, εὐρύνει μᾶλλον τοὺς μυκτῆρας.

11 Καὶ μὴν κορυφὴ μὲν μείζων, ὧτα δὲ μικρότερα ἵππωδεστέραν τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποφαίνει.

'Η δ' αὖ ὑψηλὴ ἀκρωμία τῷ τε ἀναβάτῃ ἀσφαλεστέραν τὴν ἔδραν καὶ τοῖς ὥμοις¹ ἰσχυρότεραν τὴν πρόσφυσιν παρέχεται.

'Ράχις γε μὴν ἡ διπλῆ τῆς ἀπλῆς καὶ ἐγκαθῆσθαι μαλακωτέρα καὶ ἴδειν ἡδίων.

12 Καὶ πλευρὰ δὲ ἡ βαθυτέρα καὶ πρὸς τὴν γαστέρα ὀγκωδεστέρα ἄμα εὐεδρότερόν τε καὶ ἰσχυρότερον καὶ εὐχιλότερον ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ τὸν ἵππον παρέχεται.

'Οσφὺς γε μὴν ὅσφ ἀν πλατυτέρα καὶ βραχυτέρα ἡ, τοσούτῳ ράον μὲν ὁ ἵππος τὰ πρόσθεν αἱρεται, ράον δὲ τὰ ὅπισθεν προσάγεται· καὶ ὁ κενεῶν δὲ οὐτῷ μικρότατος φαίνεται, ὅσπερ μέγας ὁν μέρος μέν τι καὶ αἰσχύνει, μέρος δέ τι καὶ ἀσθενέστερον καὶ δυσφορώτερον αὐτὸν τὸν ἵππον παρέχεται.

13 Τά γε μὴν ἴσχία πλατέα μὲν εἶναι χρὴ καὶ εὗσπαρκα, ἵνα ἀκόλουθα ἡ ταῖς πλευραῖς καὶ τοῖς στέρνοις· ἦν δὲ πάντα στερεὰ ἡ, κουφότερα ἀν τὰ

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The haunches must be broad and fleshy, that they may be in right proportion to the flanks and chest, and if they are firm all over, they will

¹ "That was before the days of saddles, and horsemen had a tender interest in the double back—the characteristic back of dappled horses"—Pocock, *Horses*, p 118. "Duplex agitur per lumbos spina," says Virgil (*Georg* iii 87).

θαρροῦτες δοκιμάζοιμεν ἄν¹ πολλῷ γὰρ πλείουες εὔχρηστοι² ἔξι αἰσχρῶν ἥ τοιούτων αἰσχροὶ γίγνοιται.

II. "Οπως γε μὴν δεῖ πωλεύειν, δοκεῖ ἡμῖν μὴ γραττέον εἶναι. τάττονται μὲν γὰρ δὴ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἵππεύειν οἱ τοῖς χρήμασι τε ἰκανώτατοι καὶ τῆς πόλεως οὐκ ἐλάχιστον μετέχοντες· πολὺ δὲ κρείττον τοῦ πωλοδάμυνη εἴται τῷ μὲν νέῳ εὐεξίας τε ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἵππικὴν³ ἐπισταμένῳ ἥδη ἵππάζεσθαι μελετᾶν· τῷ δὲ πρεσβυτέρῳ τοῦ τε οἴκου καὶ τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν καὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν μᾶλλον ἥ ἀμφὶ 2 πώλευσιν διατρίβειν. ὁ μὲν δὴ ὕσπερ ἐγὼ γιγνώσκων περὶ πωλείας δῆλον ὅτι ἐκδώσει τὸν πῶλον χρὴ μέιτοι ὕσπερ τὸν παῖδα ὅταν ἐπὶ τέχνην ἐκδῷ, συγγραψάμενον ἢ δεήσει ἐπιστάμενον ἀποδοῦναι οὕτως ἐκδιδόναι. ταῦτα γὰρ ὑπομνήματα⁴ ἔσται τῷ πωλοδάμυνῃ ὃν δεῖ ἐπιμεληθῆναι, εἰ μέλλει τὸν μισθὸν ἀπολήψεσθαι.

3 "Οπως μέντοι πρᾶός τε καὶ χειροήθης καὶ φιλάνθρωπος ὁ πῶλος ἐκδιδῶται τῷ πωλοδάμυνῃ, ἐπιμελητέον. τὸ γὰρ τοιοῦτον οἴκοι τε τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ διὰ τοῦ ἵπποκόμου ἀποτελεῖται, ἥν ἐπίστηται τὸ μὲν πεινῆν καὶ διψῆν καὶ μωρίζεσθαι παρασκευάζειν μετ' ἐρημίας γίγνεσθαι τῷ πώλῳ, τὸ δὲ φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν καὶ τῶν λυπούντων ἀπαλλάττεσθαι δι' ἀνθρώπων τούτων γὰρ γιγνομένων ἀνάγκη μὴ μόνον φιλεῖσθαι ἀλλὰ καὶ ποθεῖσθαι 4 ὑπὸ πώλων ἀνθρώπους. καὶ ἄπτεσθαι δὲ χρὴ

¹ Άν, added by Vindorf, is wanting in S

² εὔχρηστοι Schneider εὐχρέαστοι S with the MSS

³ ἵππικὴν ἐν (sic) A. ἵππικῆς ἦ S with the other MSS

confidently rely on these tests, for it is far commoner for an ugly colt to make a useful horse than for a colt like this to turn out ugly

II We do not think it necessary to give directions¹ for breaking a colt. For in our states the cavalry are recruited from those who have ample means and take a considerable part in the government. And it is far better for a young man to get himself into condition and when he understands the art of horsemanship to practise riding than to be a horse-breaker, and an older man had far better devote himself to his estate and his friends and affairs of state and of war than spend his time in horse-breaking. So he who shares my opinion about horse-breaking will, of course, send his colt out. Still he should put in writing what the horse is to know when he is returned, just as when he apprentices his son to a profession. For these articles will serve as notes to remind the horse-breaker of what he must attend to if he is to get his money.

Still, care must be taken that the colt is gentle, tractable, and fond of man when he is sent to the horse-breaker. That sort of business is generally done at home through the groom, if he knows how to contrive that hunger and thirst and horseflies are associated by the colt with solitude, while eating and drinking and delivery from irritation come through man's agency. For in these circumstances a foal is bound not only to like men, but to hanker after them. One should also handle those parts in

¹ Or, perhaps, "to give many directions." Something is lost in the MSS., in which the μ (added by Courier) does not appear.

ών ψηλαφωμένων ὁ ἵππος μᾶλιστα ἥδεται· ταῦτα δ' ἔστι τά τε λασιώτατα καὶ οἱς αὐτὸς ἥκιστα δύναται ὁ ἵππος, ἢν τι λυπή αὐτὸν, ἐπίκουρεῖν. προστετάχθω δὲ τῷ ἵπποκόμῳ καὶ τὸ δι' ὅχλου διάγειν καὶ παντοδάπανος μὲν ὄψεσι παντοδαποῖς δὲ ψόφοις πλησιάζειν. τούτων δὲ ὅπόσα ἀν ὁ πῶλος φοβήται, οὐ χαλεπαίνοντα δεῖ, ἀλλὰ πραῦνοντα διδάσκειν, ὅτι οὐ δεινά ἔστι.

Καὶ περὶ μὲν πωλείας ἀρκεῖν μοι δοκεῖ τῷ ἴδιώτῃ εἰπεῖν τοσαῦτα πράττειν.

III. "Οταν γε μὴν ἵππαζόμενον ὀνήταί τις, ὑπομνήματα γράψομεν, ἂ δεῖ καταμανθάνειν τὸν μέλλοντα μὴ ἔξαπατᾶσθαι ἐν ἵππωνείᾳ.

Πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν μὴ λαθέτω αὐτόν, τίς ἡ ἡλικία· ὁ γὰρ μηκέτι ἔχων γυώμονας οὔτ' ἐλπίσιν εὐφραίνει οὔτε δμοίως εὐαπάλλακτος γίγνεται.

2 Ὁπότε δὲ ἡ νεότης σαφῆς, δεῖ αὖ μὴ λαθεῖν, πῶς μὲν εἰς τὸ στόμα δέχεται τὸν χαλινόν, πῶς δὲ περὶ τὰ ὡτα τὴν κορυφαίαν. ταῦτα δ' ἥκιστ' ἀν λανθάνοι, εἰ ὄρῶντος μὲν τοῦ ὀνουμένου ἐμβάλλοιτο ὁ χαλινός, ὄρῶντος δ' ἔξαιροίτο.

3 Ἐπειτα δὲ προσέχειν δεῖ τὸν νοῦν, πῶς ἐπὶ τὸν νῶτον δέχεται τὸν ἀναβάτην. πολλοὶ γὰρ ἵπποι χαλεπῶς προσίενται ἢ πρόδηλα αὐτοῖς ἔστιν ὅτι προσέμενοι πονεῖν ἀναγκασθήσονται.

4 Σκεπτέον δὲ καὶ τόδε, εἰ ἀναβαθεὶς ἐθέλει ἀφ' ἵππων ἀποχωρεῖν ἢ εἰ παρ' ἔστηκότας ἵππεύων μὴ ἐκφέρει πρὸς τούτους. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ διὰ

¹ The knowledge of the teeth as a criterion of age is rudimentary.

which the horse likes most to be cherished, that is to say the briest parts and those where the horse has least power of helping himself, if anything worries him. Let the groom be under orders also to lead him through crowds, and accustom him to all sorts of sights and all sorts of noises. If the colt shies at any of them, he must teach him, by quieting him and without impatience, that there is nothing to be afraid of.

I think that the directions I have given on the subject of horse breaking are sufficient for the private person.

III In case the intention is to buy a horse already ridden, we will write out some notes that the buyer must thoroughly master if he is not to be cheated over his purchase.

First, then, he must not fail to ascertain the age. A horse that has shed all his milk teeth does not afford much ground for pleasing expectations, and is not so easily got rid of.¹

If he is clearly a youngster, one must notice further how he receives the bit in his mouth and the headstall about his ears. This may best be noticed if the buyer sees the bridle put on and taken off again.

Next, attention must be paid to his behaviour when he receives the rider on his back. For many horses will not readily accept a thing if they know beforehand that, if they accept it, they will be forced to work.

Another thing to be observed is whether when mounted he is willing to leave his companions, or whether in passing standing horses he does not bolt towards them. Some too, in consequence of bad

κακὴν ἀγωγὴν πρὸς τὰς οἰκαδες ἀφόδους φεύγουσιν
ἐκ τῶν ἵππασιῶν.

5 Τούς γε μὴν ἔτερογνάθους μηγένει μὲν καὶ ἡ
πέδη καλουμένη ἵππασία, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ τὸ
μεταβάλλεσθαι τὴν ἵππασίαν. πολλοὶ γὰρ οὐκ
ἔγχειροῦσιν ἐκφέρειν, ἵνα μὴ ἄμα συμβῇ ἡ τε
ἄδικος γράθος καὶ ἡ πρὸς οἴκουν ἐκφορά. δεῖ γέ
μὴν εἰδέναι καὶ εἰ ἀφεθεῖς εἰς τάχος ἀγαλαμβά-
νεται ἐν βραχεῖ καὶ εἰ ἀποστρέφεσθαι ἐθέλει.
6 ἀγαθὸν δὲ μὴ ἅπειρον εἶναι, εἰ καὶ πληγῇ ἐγερ-
θεὶς ἐθέλει ὁμοίως πείθεσθαι. ἄχρηστον μὲν γὰρ
δήπου καὶ οἰκέτης καὶ στράτευμα ἀπειθέει. ἵππος
δὲ ἀπειθῆς οὐ μόνον ἄχρηστος, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις
καὶ ὅσαπερ προδότης διαπράττεται.

7 Ἐπεὶ δὲ πολεμιστήριον ἵππον ὑπεθέμεθα
ῶνεῖσθαι, ληπτέον πεῖραν ἀπάντων, ὅσωνπερ
καὶ ὁ πόλεμος πεῖραν λαμβάνει. ἔστι δὲ
ταῦτα, τάφρους διαπηδᾶν, τειχία ὑπερβαίνειν,
ἐπ' ὅχθους ἀνορούειν, ἀπ' ὅχθων καθάλλεσθαι·
καὶ πρὸς ἄναυτες δὲ καὶ κατὰ πρανοῦς καὶ πλάγια
ἔλαύνοντα πεῖραν λαμβάνειν. πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα
καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν εἰ καρτερὰ καὶ τὸ σῶμα εἰ ὑγιὲς
βασανίζει.

8 Οὐ μέντοι τὸν μὴ καλῶς πάνυ ταῦτα ποιοῦντα
ἀποδοκιμαστέον. πολλοὶ γὰρ οὐ διὰ τὸ μὴ
δύνασθαι, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ ἅπειροι εἶναι τούτων
ἔλλειπονται. μαθόντες δὲ καὶ ἐθισθέντες καὶ
μελετήσαντες καλῶς ἀν ταῦτα πάντα ποιοῖεν, εἰ

training run away from the riding ground to the paths that lead home

A horse with jaws unequally sensitive is detected by the exercise called the "ring,"¹ but much more by changing the exercise.² For many do not attempt to bolt unless they have a bad mouth, and the road along which they can bolt home gives them their chance.³ It is likewise necessary to know whether, when going at full speed he can be pulled up sharp, and whether he turns readily. And it is well to make sure whether he is equally willing to obey when roused by a blow. For a disobedient servant and a disobedient army are of course useless, and a disobedient horse is not only useless, but often behaves just like a traitor.

As we have assumed that the horse to be bought is designed for war, he must be tested in all the particulars in which he is tested by war. These include springing across ditches, leaping over walls, rushing up banks, jumping down from banks. One must also try him by riding up and down hill and on a slope. All these experiments prove whether his spirit is strong and his body sound.

Nevertheless, it is not necessary to reject a horse that is not perfect in these trials. For many break down in these not from want of ability, but from lack of experience. With teaching, use and discipline they will perform all these exercises well,

¹ i.e. the "volte", see note at c. viii. § 13

² i.e. by riding on the other hand. The allusion, as

"volte"

any e the road on the
more sensitive right side

- 9 γ' ἄλλως ὑγιεῖς καὶ μὴ κακοὶ εἰεν. τούς γε μέντοι ὑπόπτας φύσει φυλακτέον. οἱ γὰρ ὑπέρφοβοι βλάπτειν μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν οὐκ ἔωσι, τὸν δὲ ἀναβάτην ἔσφηλάν τε πολλάκις καὶ εἰς τὰ χαλεπώτατα ἐνέβαλον.
- 10 Δεῖ δὲ καὶ εἴ τινα χαλεπότητα ἔχοι ὁ ἵππος, καταμανθάνειν, εἴτε πρὸς ἵππους εἴτε πρὸς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ εἰ δυσγάργαλίς γε εἴη· πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα χαλεπὰ τοῖς κεκτημένοις γίγνεται.
- 11 Τὰς δέ γε τῶν χαλινώσεων καὶ ἀναβάσεων ἀποκωλύσεις καὶ τάλλα δὴ¹ νεύματα πολὺ ἀν ἔτι μᾶλλον καταμάθοι τις, εἰ πεπονηκότος ἥδη τοῦ ἵππου πάλιν πειρώτο ποιεῖν ταῦτα ὅσαπερ πρὶν ἄρξασθαι ἵππεύειν. ὅσοι δ' ἀν πεπονηκότες ἐθέλωσι πάλιν πόνους ὑποδύεσθαι, ἵκανὰ τεκμήρια παρέχονται ταῦτα ψυχῆς καρτερᾶς.
- 12 Ως δὲ συνελόντι εἰπεῖν, ὅστις εὗπους μὲν εἴη, πρῶτος δέ, ἀρκούντως δὲ ποδώκης, ἐθέλοι δὲ καὶ δύναιτο πόνους ὑποφέρειν, πείθοιτο δὲ μάλιστα, οὗτος ἀν εἰκότως ἀλυπότατός τ' εἴη καὶ σωτηριώτατος τῷ ἀμβάτῃ ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς. οἱ δὲ ἡ διὰ βλακείαν ἐλάσεως πολλῆς δεόμενοι ἢ διὰ τὸ ὑπέρθυμοι εἶναι πολλῆς θωπείας τε καὶ πραγματείας ἀσχολίαν μὲν ταῖς χερσὶ τοῦ ἀναβάτου παρέχουσιν, ἀθυμίαν δ' ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις.

IV. "Οταν γε μὴν ἀγασθεὶς ἵππον πρίηται τις καὶ οἴκαδε ἀγάγηται, καλὸν μὲν ἐν τοιούτῳ τῆς οἰκίας τὸν σταθμὸν εἶναι, ὅπου πλειστάκις ὁ δεσπότης ὅψεται τὸν ἵππον ἀγαθὸν δ' οὕτω κατεσκευάσθαι τὸν ἵππωνα, ὥστε μηδὲν μᾶλλον οἶόν τ' εἶναι τὸν τοῦ ἵππου σῖτον κλαπῆναι ἐκ

provided they are otherwise sound and not faulty. But one should beware of horses that are naturally ⁹ shy. For timid horses give one no chance of using them to harm the enemy, and often throw their rider and put him in a very awkward situation.

It is necessary also to find out whether the ¹⁰ horse has any vice towards horses or towards men, and whether he will not stand tickling, for all these things prove troublesome to the owner.

As regards objection to being bridled or mounted, ¹¹ and the other objections, there is a much better way still of detecting these, namely, by trying to do over again, after the horse has finished his work, just what one did before starting on the ride. All horses that are willing after their work to do another spell thereby give sufficient proofs of a patient temper.

To sum up, the horse that is sound in his feet, ¹² gentle and fairly speedy, has the will and the strength to stand work, and, above all, is obedient, is the horse that will, as a matter of course, give least trouble and the greatest measure of safety to his rider in warfare. But those that want a lot of driving on account of their laziness, or a lot of coaxing and attention on account of their high spirit, make constant demands on the rider's hands and rob him of confidence in moments of danger.

IV When a man has found a horse to his mind, bought him and taken him home, it is well to have the stable so situated with respect to the house that his master can see him very often, and it is a good plan to have the stall so contrived that it will be as difficult to steal the horse's fodder out of the manger

¹ For δὴ νεύματα S reads δινεύματα, a conjecture of Stephanus (δινεύματα some inferior MSS.)

- τῆς φάτνης ἡ τὸν τοῦ δεσπότου ἐκ τοῦ ταμείου
ό δὲ τούτου ἀμελῶν ἔμοι μὲν ἑαυτοῦ δοκεῖ ἀμε-
λεῖν δῆλοι γὰρ ὅτι ἐν τοῖς κινδίοις τὸ αὐτοῖς
σῶμα τῷ ἵππῳ ὁ δεσπότης παρακατατίθεται.
- 2 ἔστι δὲ οὐ μόνον τοῦ μὴ κλέπτεσθαι ἐνεκα τὸν
σῖτον ἀγαθὸς ὁ ἔχυρὸς ἵππων, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ διαν
τη ἐκκομίζῃ τὸν σῖτον ὁ ἵππος, φαιερὸν γίγνεται
τούτου δ' ἂν τις αἰσθόμειος γιγνώσκοι, ὅτι ἡ
τὸ σῶμα ὑπεραιμοῦν δεῖται θεραπείας ἡ κότον
ἐνόντος δεῖται ἀιαταύσεως ἡ κριθίασις ἡ ἄλλη
τις ἀρρωστία ὑποδύεται ἔστι δ' ὥστερ ἀιθρώπῳ
οὗτῳ καὶ ἵππῳ ἀρχόμενα πάντα εὐιατότερα ἡ ἐ-ει-
δὰν ἐνσκιρρωθῆ τε καὶ ἐξαμαρτηθῆ τὰ ιοσήματα.
- 3 "Οσπερ δὲ τῷ ἵππῳ σίτου τε καὶ γυμνασίων
ἐπιμελητέον, ὅπως ἀν τὸ σῶμα ἴσχυη, οὗτῳ καὶ
τοὺς πόδας ἀσκητέον. τὰ μὲν τοίνυν ὑγρά τε καὶ
λεῖα τῶν σταθμῶν λυμαίνεται καὶ ταῖς εὐφυέσιν
όπλαις. δεῖ δέ, ως μὲν μὴ ἡ ὑγρά, εἰναι ἀπόρ-
ρυτα, ως δὲ μὴ λεῖα, λίθους ἔχοντα κατορωρυ-
γμένους προσαλλήλους παραπλησίους ὄπλαις τὸ
μέγεθος. τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα σταθμὸν καὶ ἐφεστη-
κότων ἄμα στερεοῖ τοὺς πόδας.
- 4 "Ἐπειτά γε μὴν τῷ ἵπποκόμῳ ἐξακτέον μὲν
τὸν ἵππον ὅπου ψήξει, μεταδετέον δὲ μετὰ τὸ
ἄριστον ἀπὸ τῆς φάτνης, ἵν' ἥδιον ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον
ἴη ὡδε δ' ἀν αὖ ὁ ἔξω σταθμὸς βέλτιστος εἴη
καὶ τοὺς πόδας κρατύνοι, εἰ λίθων στρογγύλων
ἀμφιδόχμων ὅσον μναίων ἀμάξας τέτταρας καὶ

as the master's victuals from the larder. He who neglects this seems to me to neglect himself, for it is plain that in danger the master entrusts his life to his horse. But a well secured stall is not only good for preventing theft of the fodder but also because one can see when the horse spills his food. And on noticing this one may be sure that either his body is overfull of blood and needs treatment or that the horse is over worked and wants rest, or that colic or some other ailment is coming on. It is the same with horses as with men all distempers in the early stage are more easily cured than when they have become chronic and have been wrongly treated.

Just as the food and exercise of the horse must be attended to in order that he may keep sound, so his feet must be cared for. Now damp and slippery floors ruin even well formed hoofs. In order that they may not be damp,¹ the floors should have a slope to carry off the wet, and, that they may not be slippery, they should be paved all over with stones, each one about the size of the hoof. Such floors, indeed, have another advantage because they harden the feet of the horses standing on them.

To take the next point the groom must lead out the horse to clean him, and must loose him from the stall after the morning feed, that he may return to his evening feed with more appetite. Now the stable-yard will be of the best form and will strengthen the feet if he throws down and spreads over it four or five loads of round stones, the size of a fist, about a pound

¹ The text of this sentence is conjectural, and it is thought that some words are lost before τὰ γάρ and after εγενέται in the next.

πέντε χύδην καταβάλλοι, περιχειλώσας σιδήρῳ,
ώς ἀν μη σκεδαννύωνται ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτων ἐστηκὼς
ῶσπερ ἐν ὁδῷ λιθώδει ἀεὶ ἀν μέρος τῆς ἡμέρας
5 πορεύοιτο. ἀνάγκη δὲ καὶ ψηχόμενον καὶ μυωπι-
ζόμενον χρήσθαι ταῖς ὄπλαις καθάπερ ὅταν
βαδίζῃ. καὶ τὰς χελιδόνας δὲ τῶν ποδῶν οἱ
οῦτω κεχυμένοι λίθοι στερεοῦσιν.

'Ως δὲ περὶ τῶν ὄπλων ὅπως καρτεραὶ ἔσονται,
οὗτως καὶ περὶ τῶν στομάτων ὅπως μαλακὰ
ἔσται ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δεῖ. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ ἀνθρώπου
τε σάρκα καὶ ἵππου στόμα ἀπαλύνει.

V. Ἰππικοῦ δὲ ἀνδρὸς ἡμῖν δοκεῖ εἶναι καὶ τὸν
ἰπποκόμον πεπαιδεῦσθαι ἢ δεῖ περὶ τὸν ἵππον
πράττειν.

Πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν τῆς ἐπιφατνιδίας φορβειᾶς
ἐπίστασθαι αὐτὸν δεῖ μήποτε τὸ ἄμμα ποιεῖσθαι
ἔνθαπερ ἡ κορυφαία περιτίθεται. πολλάκις γὰρ
κυῶν ὁ ἵππος ἐπὶ τῇ φάτνῃ τὴν κεφαλήν, εἰ μὴ
ἀσινὴς ἡ φορβειὰ περὶ τὰ ὡτα ἔσται, πολλάκις
ἄν ἐλκη ποιοίη. ἐλκουμένων γε μὴν τούτων ἀνά-
γκη τὸν ἵππον καὶ περὶ τὸ χαλινοῦσθαι καὶ περὶ
2 τὸ ψήχεσθαι δυσκολώτερον εἶναι. ἀγαθὸν δὲ καὶ
τὸ τετάχθαι τῷ ἵπποκόμῳ καθ' ἡμέραν τὴν κόπρον
καὶ τὰ ὑποστρώματα τοῦ ἵππου ἐκφέρειν εἰς ἐν
χωρίον. τοῦτο γὰρ ποιῶν αὐτός τ' ἄν ṛάστα
3 ἀπαλλάττοι καὶ ἄμα τὸν ἵππον ὠφελοίη. εἰδέ-
ναι δὲ χρὴ τὸν ἵπποκόμον καὶ τὸν κημὸν περι-
τιθέναι τῷ ἵππῳ καὶ ὅταν ἐπὶ ψῆξιν καὶ ὅταν
ἐπὶ καλίστραν ἐξάγῃ. καὶ ἀεὶ δὲ ὅποι ἄν ἀχα-
λίνωτον ἄγῃ κημοῦν δεῖ. ὁ γὰρ κημὸς ἀναπνεῖν
μὲν οὐ κωλύει, δάκνειν δὲ οὐκ ἔἼ· καὶ τὸ ἐπι-

in weight, and surrounds them with a border of iron so that they may not be scattered Standing on these will have the same effect as if the horse walked on a stone road for some time every day When he is being rubbed down and teased with flies he is bound to use his hoofs in the same way as when he walks The frogs also are hardened by stones scattered in this way

The same care must be taken to make his mouth tender as to harden his hoofs This is done by the same methods as are employed to soften human flesh

V. It is a mark of a good horseman, in our opinion, to see that his groom, like himself, is instructed in the way in which he should treat the horse

First then the man ought to know that he should never make the knot in the halter at the point where the headstall is put on For if the halter is not easy about the ears, the horse will often rub his head against the manger and may often get sores in consequence Now if there are sore places thereabouts the horse is bound to be restive both when he is bridled and when he is rubbed down It is well also 2 for the groom to have orders to remove the dung and litter daily to one and the same place For by doing this he will get rid of it most easily and at the same time relieve the horse The groom must also know 3 about putting the muzzle on the horse when he takes him out to be groomed or to the rolling place In fact he must always put the muzzle on when he leads him anywhere without a bridle¹ For the muzzle prevents him from biting without hampering his breathing; and moreover, when it is put on, it

¹ The muzzle appears on several Greek vases The Greek horse was given to biting

βουλεύειν δὲ περικείμενος μᾶλλον ἔξαιρεῖ τῶν ἵππων.

- 4 Καὶ μὴν δεσμεύειν τὸν ἵππον ἄνωθεν τῆς κεφαλῆς δεῖ. πάντα γὰρ ὅπόσα ἀν δύσκολ' ἦ περὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ὁ ἵππος ἐκνεύειν πέφυκεν ἄνω ἐκνεύων γε μὴν οὕτω δεδεμένος χαλᾶ μᾶλλον ἡ διασπὰ τὰ δεσμά.
- 5 Ἐπειδὰν δὲ ψήχη, ἄρχεσθαι μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ τῆς χαίτης μὴ γὰρ καθαρῶν τῶν ἄνω ὅντων μάταιον τὰ κάτω καθαίρειν. ἔπειτα δὲ κατὰ μὲν τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα πᾶσι. τοῖς τῆς καθάρσεως ὄργανοις ἀνιστάντα δεῖ τὴν τρίχα σοβεῖν τὴν κόνιν κατὰ¹ φύσιν τῆς τριχός· τῶν δ' ἐν τῇ ράχει τριχῶν ἄλλῳ μὲν ὄργανῳ οὐδενὶ δεῖ ἀπτεσθαι, ταῖς δὲ χερσὶ τρίβειν καὶ ἀπαλύνειν ὑπέρ φύσει κέκλινται· ἥκιστα γὰρ ἀν βλάπτοι τὴν ἔδραν τοῦ ἵππου. ὕδατι δὲ καταπλύνειν τὴν κεφαλὴν χρή. ὀστώδης γὰρ οὖσα εἰ σιδήρῳ ἡ ἔύλῳ καθαίροιτο, λυποίη ἀν τὸν ἵππον. καὶ τὸ προκόμιον δὲ χρὴ βρέχειν καὶ γὰρ αὗται εὔμήκεις οὖσαι αἱ τρίχες ὄρâν μὲν οὐ κωλύουσι τὸν ἵππον, ἀποσοβοῦσι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ὄφθαλμῶν τὰ λυποῦντα. καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς δὲ οἴεσθαι χρὴ δεδωκέναι ταύτας τὰς τρίχας ἵππῳ ἀντὶ τῶν μεγάλων ὤτων, ἢ δνοις τε καὶ ἡμιόνοις 7 ἔδοσαν ἀλεξητήρια πρὸ τῶν ὄμμάτων. καὶ οὐρâν δὲ καὶ χαίτην πλύνειν χρή, ἐπείπερ αὗξειν δεῖ τὰς τρίχας, τὰς μὲν ἐν τῇ οὐρᾷ, ὅπως ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἔξικνούμενος ἀποσοβῆται ὁ ἵππος τὰ λυποῦντα, τὰς δὲ ἐν τῷ τραχῆλῳ, ὅπως τῷ ἀμβάτῃ 8 ὡς ὑφθενωτάτη ἀντίληψις ἦ. δέδοται δὲ παρὰ

¹ κατὰ MSS.: οὐ κατὰ S. with Gesner.

goes far towards preventing any propensity to mischief

He should tie up the horse at a place above the head, because when anything irritates his face, the horse instinctively tries to get rid of it by tossing his head upwards; and if he is tied thus he loosens the halter instead of breaking it by tossing up his head

In rubbing the horse down, the man should start at the head and mane, for if the upper parts are not clean, it is idle to clean his lower parts. Next, going over the rest of his body, he should make the hair stand up with all the dressing instruments,¹ and get the dust out by rubbing him the way the hair lies. But he should not touch the hair on the backbone with any instrument, he should rub and smooth it down with the hands the way it naturally grows, for so he will be least likely to injure the rider's seat. He must wash the head well with water, for, as it is bony, to clean it with iron or wood would hurt the horse. He must also wet the forelock, for this tuft of hair, even if pretty long, does not obstruct his sight, but drives from his eyes anything that worries them; and we must presume that the gods have given the horse this hair in lieu of the long ears that they have given to asses and mules as a protection to their eyes. He should also wash the tail and mane, for growth of the tail is to be encouraged in order that the horse may be able to reach as far as possible and drive away anything that worries him, and growth of the mane in order to give the rider as good a hold as possible. Besides, the mane, forelock and tail have been

¹ The instructions are rather vague

θεῶν καὶ ἀγλαῖας ἔνεκα ἵππῳ χαίτη καὶ προκόμιόν τε καὶ οὐρά. τεκμήριον δέ· αἱ γὰρ ἀγελαῖαι τῶν ἵππων οὐχ ὁμοίως ὑπὸμένουσι τοὺς ὅνους ἐπὶ τῇ ὁχείᾳ, ἔως ἂν κομῶσιν οὐ ἔνεκα καὶ ἀποκείρουσι πρὸς τὴν ὁχείαν τὰς ἵππους ἄπαντες οἱ ὄνοβατοῦντες.

9 Τήν γε μὴν τῶν σκελῶν κατάπλυσιν ἀφαιροῦμεν· ὡφελεῖ μὲν γὰρ οὐδέν, βλάπτει δὲ τὰς ὄπλας ἡ καθ' ἔκάστην ἡμέραν βρέξις. καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ γαστέρα δὲ ἄγαν κάθαρσιν μειοῦν χρή· αὕτη γὰρ λυπεῖ μὲν μάλιστα τὸν ἵππον, ὅσῳ δ' ἂν καθαρώτερα ταῦτα γένηται, τοσούτῳ πλείονα τὰ
10 λυποῦντα ἀθροίζει ὑπὸ τὴν γαστέρα· ἦν δὲ καὶ πάνυ διαποιήσηται τις ταῦτα, οὐ φθάνει τε ἔξαγόμενος ὁ ἵππος καὶ εὐθὺς ὅμοιός ἐστι τοῖς ἀκαθάρτοις. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐᾶν χρή· ἀρκεῖ δὲ καὶ ἡ τῶν σκελῶν ψῆξις αὐταῖς ταῖς χερσὶ γιγνομένη.

VI. Δηλώσομεν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ὡς ἂν ἀβλαβέστατα μέν τις ἔαυτῷ, τῷ δ' ἵππῳ ὡφελιμώτατα ψήχοι. ἦν μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὸ αὐτὸν βλέπων τῷ ἵππῳ καθαίρῃ, κίνδυνος καὶ τῷ γόνατι καὶ τῇ ὄπλῃ
2 εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον πληγῆναι· ἦν δὲ ἀντία τῷ ἵππῳ ὄρῶν καὶ ἔξω τοῦ σκέλους, ὅταν καθαίρῃ, κατὰ τὴν ὠμοπλάτην καθίζων ἀποτρίβῃ, οὗτω πάθοι μὲν ἄν οὐδέν, δύναιτο δὲ ἂν καὶ τὴν χελιδόνα τοῦ ἵππου θεραπεύειν ἀναπτύσσων τὴν ὄπλην. ὡς δ' αὗτας καὶ τὰ ὄπισθεν σκέλη καθαιρέτω.

¹ Several allusions to this erroneous belief of the Greeks are collected by the commentators.

² The text shows that the parts washed were not

given to the horse by the gods as an ornament. A proof of this is that brood mares herding together, so long as they have fine manes,¹ are reluctant to be covered by asses; for which reason all breeders of mules cut off the manes of the mares for covering.

Washing down of the legs we disapprove of; it does no good, and the hoofs are injured by being wetted every day. Excessive cleaning under the belly also should be diminished; for this worries the horse very much, and the cleaner these parts are, the more they collect under the belly things offensive to it,² and notwithstanding all the pruns that may be taken with these parts, the horse is no sooner led out than he looks much the same as an unwashed animal. So these operations should be omitted, and as for the rubbing of the legs, it is enough to do it with the bare hands.

VI. We will now show how one may rub down a horse with least danger to oneself and most advantage to the horse. If in cleaning him³ the man faces in the same direction as the horse, he runs the risk of getting a blow in the face from his knee and his hoof. But if he faces in the opposite direction to the horse and sits by the shoulder out of reach of his leg when he cleans him, and rubs him down so, then he will come to no harm, and can also attend to the horse's frog by lifting up the hoof.⁴ Let him do exactly the same in cleaning the hind legs.

thoroughly dried indeed, efficient drying cloths were not used. See Pollux i. 185

¹ What follows refers to cleaning the fore legs, to which a

introduction (p. xxxiv)
itching under the horse

- 3 εἰδέναι δὲ χρὴ τὸν περὶ τὸν ἵππον, ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα καὶ τὰλλα πάντα, ὅσα πράττειν δεῖ, ὡς ἥκιστα χρὴ κατὰ τὸ πρόσωπόν τε καὶ οὐρᾶν ποιήσοντα προσιέναι· ἵν γὰρ ἐπιχειρῆ ἀδικεῖν, κατ' ἄμφοτέρα ταῦτα κρείττων ὁ ἵππος ἀνθρώπου. ἐκ πλαγίου δ' ἀν τις προσιὼν ἀβλαβέστατα μὲν ἔαυτῷ, κάλλιστα¹ δ' ἀν ἵππῳ δύναιτο χρῆσθαι.
- 4 Ἐπειδάν γε μὴν ἄγειν δέη τὸν ἵππον, τὴν μὲν ὅπισθεν ἀγωγὴν διὰ τάδε οὐκ ἐπαινοῦμεν, ὅτι τῷ μὲν ἄγοντι οὗτως ἥκιστα ἔστι φυλάξασθαι, τῷ δὲ ἵππῳ οὗτως μάλιστα ἔξεστι ποιῆσαι ὃ τι ἀν 5 βούληται. τὸ δ' αὖ ἐμπροσθεν μακρῷ τῷ ἀγωγεῖ προϊόντα διδάσκειν ὑφηγεῖσθαι τὸν ἵππον διὰ τάδε αὖ ψέγομεν. ἔξεστι μὲν γὰρ τῷ ἵππῳ καθ' ὅπότερ' ἀν βούληται τῶν πλαγίων κακουργεῖν, ἔξεστι δὲ ἀναστρεφόμενον ἀντίον γίγνεσθαι τῷ 6 ἄγοντι. ἀθρόοι δὲ δὴ ἵπποι πῶς ἀν ποτε ἀλλήλων δύναιντο ἀπέχεσθαι οὕτως ἀγόμενοι; ἐκ πλαγίου δὲ ἵππος ἔθισθεὶς παράγεσθαι ἥκιστα μὲν ἀν καὶ ἵππους καὶ ἀνθρώπους δύναιτ' ἀν κακουργεῖν, κάλλιστα δ' ἀν παρεσκευασμένος τῷ ἀναβάτῃ εἴη καὶ εἴ ποτε ἐν τάχει ἀραβῆναι δεήσειεν.
- 7 "Ινα δὲ ὁ ἵπποκόμος καὶ τὸν χαλινὸν ὄρθως ἐμβάλῃ, πρῶτον μὲν προσίτω κατὰ τὰ ἀριστερὰ τοῦ ἵππου· ἔπειτα τὰς μὲν ἡνίας περιβαλῶν περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν καταθέτω ἐπὶ τῇ ἀκρωμίᾳ, τὴν δὲ κορυφαίαν τῇ δεξιᾷ αἱρέτω, τὸ δὲ στόμιον τῇ 8 ἀριστερᾷ προσφερέτω. καν μὲν δέχηται, δῆλον ὅτι περιτιθέναι δεῖ τὸν κεκρύφαλον· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ὑποχάσκῃ, ἔχοντα δεῖ πρὸς τοῖς ὁδοῦσι τὸν χαλινὸν τὸν μέγαν δάκτυλον τῆς ἀριστερᾶς χειρὸς

¹ κάλλιστα Herwerden: πλεῖστα S. with the MSS.

The man employed about the horse is to know that in 3 these operations and in all that he has to do he must be very chary of approaching from the head or tail to do his work. For if the horse attempts to show mischief he has the man in his power in both these directions, but if he approaches from the side he can manage the horse with least danger to himself and in the best manner.

When it is necessary to lead the horse, we do not 4 approve of leading him behind one for this reason, that the man leading him is then least able to take care of himself while the horse has the utmost freedom to do whatever he chooses. On the other 5 hand we also disapprove of training the horse to go in front on a long lead for the following reasons: the horse has the power of misbehaving on either side as he chooses, and has also the power of turning round and facing his driver. And if several 6 horses together are driven in this fashion, how can they possibly be kept from interfering with one another? But a horse that is accustomed to being led from the side will have least power of doing harm either to horses or to men, and will be in the handiest position for the rider should he want to mount quickly.

In order to put the bit in properly, first let the 7 groom approach on the near side of the horse. Then let him throw the reins over the head and drop them on the withers, and next lift the head still with the right hand and offer the bit with the left. If he takes the bit of course the bridle should be put 8 on. But if he refuses to open his mouth, the man must hold the bit to his teeth and put the thumb of

- εῖσω τῆς γνάθου τῷ ἵππῳ ποιῆσαι. οἱ γὰρ
πολλοὶ τούτου γιγνομένου χαλῶσι τὸ στόμα. ἦν
δὲ μηδὲ οὕτω δέχηται, πιεσάτω τὸ χεῖλος περὶ τῷ
κυνόδοντι· καὶ πάντα τινὲς ὀλίγοι οὐ δέχονται
9 τοῦτο πάσχοντες. δεδιδάχθω δὲ καὶ τάδε ὁ
ἱπποκόμος, πρῶτον μὲν μήποτε ἄγειν τῆς ἡνίας
τὸν ἵππον τοῦτο γὰρ ἐτερογνάθους ποιεῖ· ἔπειτα
δὲ ὅσον δεῖ ὑπέχειν τὸν χαλινὸν τῶν γνάθων. ὁ
μὲν γὰρ ἄγαν πρὸς αὐταῖς τυλοῖ τὸ στόμα, ὥστε
μὴ εὐαίσθητον εἶναι, ὁ δὲ ἄγαν εἰς ἄκρον τὸ
στόμα καθιέμενος ἔξουσίαν παρέχει συνδάκνοντει
10 τὸ στόμιον μὴ πείθεσθαι. χρὴ δὲ τὸν ἵπποκόμον
καὶ τὰ τοιάδε παρατηρεῖν, εἰ μὴ ῥᾳδίως τὸν
χαλινὸν ὁ ἵππος δέχεται, αἰσθανόμενος ὅτι¹ δεῖ
πονεῖν. οὕτω γὰρ δὴ μέγα ἐστὶ τὸ λαμβάνειν
ἔθέλειν τὸν ἵππον τὸν χαλινόν, ὡς ὁ μὴ δεχόμενος
11 παντάπασιν ἄχρηστος. ἦν δὲ μὴ μόνον ὅταν
πονεῖν μέλλῃ χαλινῶται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅταν ἐπὶ τὸν
σῖτον καὶ ὅταν ἔξ ἵππασίας εἰς οἴκου ἀπάγηται,
οὐδὲν ἀν εἴη θαυμαστόν, εἰ ἀρπάζοι² τὸν χαλινὸν
ἀντόματος προτεινόμενον.
- 12 Ἀγαθὸν δὲ τὸν ἵπποκόμον καὶ ἀναβάλλειν
ἐπίστασθαι τὸν Περσικὸν τρόπον, ὅπως αὐτὸς
τε ὁ δεσπότης, ἦν ποτε ἀρρωστήσῃ ἢ πρεσβύτερος
γένηται, ἔχη τὸν εὐπετῶς ἀναβιβάζοντα καὶ ἄλλῳ
ἦν τινι βούληται τὸν ἀναβαλοῦντα ἐπιχαρίσηται.
- 13 Τὸ δὲ μήποτε σὺν ὄργῃ τῷ ἵππῳ προσφέρεσθαι,
ἢν τοῦτο καὶ δίδαγμα καὶ ἔθισμα πρὸς ἵππον
ἀριστον. ἀπρονόητον γὰρ ἡ ὄργη, ὥστε πολ-

¹ ἵπποκομον . . . δτι A: the other MSS have παραξύνθαι, for the παρατηρεῖν of AB; all but A omit μη . . αἰσθανόμενος, and have τι for δτι: S. adds ἵππον μὴ κατὰ τοιάδε παραξύνθαι, εἰ τι between τδν and δεῖ.

the left hand in the horse's jaw. Most horses open the mouth when this is done. If the stallion resists, the man should squeeze his hip against the neck; and very few resist when they are treated in this way. The groom should also be instructed in the following points: first, never to lead the horse on the rein—that gives the horse a hard mouth on one side—and secondly, what is the correct distance from the bit to the jaws. For if it is too high up, it hardens the mouth so that it loses its sensitiveness, and if it lies too low in the mouth, it gives the horse power to take it between his teeth and refuse to obey. The groom must also pay some attention to such points as the following: whether the horse will not easily take the bit when he knows that he has work to do. Willingness to receive the bit is, in fact, important that a horse that resists it is quite needless. But if he is bridled not only when he is going to be ridden but also when he is taken to his food and when he is led home from exercise, it would not be at all surprising if he seized the bit of his own accord when offered to him.

It is well for the groom to know how to give a leg up in the Persian fashion,¹ so that his master himself, in case he is unseated or is getting old may have someone to put him up conveniently, and may, if he wishes, oblige his friend with a man to give him a lift-up.

The one best rule and practice in dealing with a horse is never to approach him in anger; for anger is a reckless thing, so that it often makes a man do what

¹ See *Curiosity* Comm. in loc. l. 17.

² Prof. A. Bruffell with the other Mr. —

- τῷ δεξιῷ, τότε σημαίνοι τῷ ἵππῳ τὸ ἐπιρρα-
 12 βδοφορεῖν. τὸ γὰρ ἀριστερὸν μέλλων αἴρειν ἐκ
 τούτου ἀν ἄρχοιτο, καὶ ὅπότε ἐπὶ τὰ εὐώνυμα
 ἀναστρέφοι, τότε καὶ τῆς ἐπισκελίσεως ἄρχοιτο.
 καὶ γὰρ πέφυκεν ὁ ἵππος εἰς μὲν τὰ δεξιὰ
 στρεφόμενος τοῖς δεξιοῖς ἀφηγεῖσθαι, εἰς εὐώνυμα
 δὲ τοῖς ἀριστεροῖς.
- 13 ‘Ιππασίαν δ’ ἐπαινοῦμεν τὴν πέδην καλουμένην
 ἐπ’ ἀμφοτέρας γὰρ τὰς γυνάθους στρέφεσθαι
 ἔθίζει. καὶ τὸ μεταβάλλεσθαι δὲ τὴν ἴππασίαν
 ἀγαθόν, ἵνα ἀμφότεραι αἱ γυνάθοι καθ’ ἔκάτερον
- 14 τῆς ἴππασίας ἴσαξωνται. ἐπαινοῦμεν δὲ καὶ τὴν
 ἑτερομήκη πέδην μᾶλλον τῆς κυκλοτεροῦς. ἥδιον
 μὲν γὰρ οὕτως ἀν στρέφοιτο ὁ ἵππος ἥδη πλήρης
 ὃν τοῦ εὐθέος καὶ τό τε ὄρθοδρομεῖν καὶ τὸ
- 15 ἀποκάμπτειν ἅμα μελετώη ἀν. δεῖ δὲ καὶ
 ὑπολαμβάνειν ἐν ταῖς στροφαῖς· οὐ γὰρ ῥάδιον
 τῷ ἵππῳ οὐδὲ ἀσφαλὲς ἐν τῷ τάχει δυτα κάμπτειν
 ἐν μικρῷ, ἄλλως τε καν ἀπόκροτον ἡ ὀλισθηρὸν
- 16 ἡ τὸ χωρίον. ὅταν γε μὴν ὑπολαμβάνῃ, ὡς
 ἥκιστα μὲν χρὴ τὸν ἵππον πλαγιοῦν τῷ χαλινῷ,
 ὡς ἥκιστα δ’ αὐτὸν πλαγιοῦσθαι· εἰ δέ μή, εὖ
 χρὴ εἰδέναι, ὅτι μικρὰ πρόφασις ἀρκέσει κεῖσθαι
- 17 καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν ἵππον. ἐπειδάν γε μὴν ἐκ
 τῆς στροφῆς εἰς τὸ εὐθὺς βλέπη ὁ ἵππος, ἐν
 τούτῳ πρὸς τὸ θᾶττον αὐτὸν ὄρμάτω. δῆλον

....¹ A remarkable proof of X's power of observation
 hit fore leg, the
 ; assumes when
 strike off with

..... term is "ring."

to gallop while trotting, at the instant when he is treading with the right (fore) foot As he is then 12 on the point of raising the left, he will begin with it, and, as soon as the rider turns him to the left, will immediately begin the stride For it is natural for the horse to lead with the right when turned to the right, and with the left when turned to the left¹

The exercise that we recommend is the one called 13 the ring,² since it accustoms the horse to turn on both jaws It is also well to change the exercise,³ in order that both jaws may be equally practised on each side of the exercise⁴ We recommend the 14 manege⁵ rather than the complete ring, for thus the horse will turn more willingly when he has gone some distance in a straight course, and one can practise the career and the turn at the same time It is necessary to collect him at the turns, for it is 15 neither easy for the horse nor safe to turn short when going fast, especially if the ground is uneven or slippery In collecting him the rider must slant the 16 horse as little as possible with the bit, and slant his own body as little as possible, else he may be sure that a trifling cause will be enough to bring him and his horse down As soon as the horse 17 faces the straight after turning, push him along at now volte Of course the horse was exercised first in one direction, then in the other

¹ i.e ride on the other hand this is not part of the volte

² i.e may have both jaws equally sensitive on whichever hand he is ridden

³ I have ventured to use this term since X. means precisely what Gervase Markham calls the "manage in the strict sense, i.e two straight treads with a semicircle at either end

ΧΕΝΟΡΗΙΟΝ

γὰρ ὅτι καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις αἱ στροφαὶ εἰσιν
ἢ τοῦ διώκειν ἢ τοῦ ἀποχωρεῖν ἔνεκα. ἀγαθὸν
18 οὖν τὸ στραφέντα ταχύτερον μελετᾶν. δταν δὲ
ἴκανῶς ἥδη δοκῆ τὸ γυμνάσιον τῷ ἵππῳ ἔχειν,
ἀγαθὸν καὶ διαπαύσαντα ὄρμῆσαι ἔξαιρης εἰς
τὸ τάχιστον καὶ ἀφ' ἵππων μέντοι, μὴ¹ πρὸς
ἵππους· καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ταχέος αὐτὸν ὡς ἐγγυτάτῳ
ἥρεμίζειν, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἔσταναι δὲ στρέψαντα
πάλιν² ὄρμᾶν. πρόδηλον γὰρ ὅτι ἔσται ποτὲ
ὅτε ἑκατέρου τούτων δεήσει.

19 "Οταν γε μὴν καταβαίνειν ἥδη καιρὸς ἥ, μήτε
ἐν ἵπποις ποτὲ καταβαίνειν μήτε παρὰ συστασιν
ἀνθρώπων μήτε ἔξω τῆς ἵππασίας, ἀλλ' ὅπουπερ
καὶ πονεῖν ἀναγκάζεται ὁ ἵππος, ἐνταῦθα καὶ τῆς
ῥαστώνης τυγχανέτω.

VIII. Ἐπειδήπερ ἔστιν ὅπου τρέχειν δεήσει
τὸν ἵππον καὶ πρανῆ καὶ ὅρθια καὶ πλάγια,
ἔστι δὲ ὅπου διαπηδᾶν, ἔστι δὲ ὅπου καὶ ἐκπηδᾶν,
ἔνθα δὲ καὶ καθάλλεσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα πάιτα
διδάσκειν τε δεῖ καὶ μελετᾶν καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν
ἵππον· οὗτῳ γὰρ ἀν σωτῆριοί τε εἰεν ἀλλήλοις
καὶ καθόλου³ χρησιμώτεροι ἀν δοκοῦεν είναι.

2 Εἰ δέ τις διλογεῖν ἡμᾶς οἴεται, ὅτι περὶ τῶν
αὐτῶν λέγομεν νῦν τε καὶ πρόσθεν, οὐ διλογία
ταῦτα ἔστιν. ὅτε μὲν γὰρ ἐωνεῖτο, πειρᾶσθαι
ἐκελεύομεν, εἰ δύναιτο ὁ ἵππος ταῦτα ποιεῦν·
νῦν δὲ διδάσκειν φαμὲν χρῆναι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ
γράψομεν, ὡς δεῖ διδάσκειν.

¹ μὴ MSS.: καὶ S. with Camerarius.

² πάλιν Lenkiou: δεῖ πάλιν S. with the MSS.

³ καθόλου placed here by Pollack: in the MSS. it comes after αὐτὸν in the previous sentence: S. omits with Dindorf.

once For of course, in war too, turns are made with a view to pursuit or retreat It is well, therefore, to practise increasing the pace after turning So 18 soon as the horse appears to have been exercised enough, it is well to let him rest a certain time, and then suddenly to put him to his top speed again, of course away from, not towards, other horses, and to pull him up again in the midst of his career as short as possible, and then to turn and start him again from the stand For it is obvious that a time will come when it will be necessary to do one or the other

When the time has come to dismount the rider 19 must never dismount among other horses or near a group of people or outside the riding ground, but let the place where the horse is forced to work be the place where he also receives his reward of ease

VIII As the horse will frequently have to gallop down hill and up hill and along a slope, and as he will have to leap over, and to leap out, and to jump down at various times, the rider must teach and practise both himself and his horse in all these things For thus they will be able to help each other, and will be thought altogether more efficient

If anyone thinks that we are repeating ourselves, 2 because we are referring to matters already dealt with, this is not repetition For we recommended the purchaser to try whether the horse could do these things at the time of buying but now we say that a man should teach his own horse, and we will show how to teach him.

- 3 Τοὶ μὲν γὰρ τοι τάπασι ἀτείροι τοῦ διατηδᾶν
λαβόντα δεῖ τοῦ ἀγωγέως καταθεθλημένου προ-
διαθῆι αἱ αὐτὸν τὴν αὔφρον, ἔτειτα δὲ ἐτείπει
4 δεῖ τῷ ἀγωγεῖ, οὐς διάλληται ἡδὲ μὴ ἐθέλῃ,
ἔχων τις μιστιγα ἡ ράβδοι ἐμφαλέται οὐς ἴσχυ-
ροταταὶ καὶ οἵτως ἀτεραλεῖται οἱ τὸ μέτροι,
ἄλλὰ πολὺ τλεῖοι τοῦ καιροῦ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν
οὐδὲι δειγοται ταίει, ἀλλ᾽ ἡν μόνοι οἶδη ὅτισθέν
5 τινα ἐτελθόντα, ἀλεῖται. ἐτειδάν δὲ οὗτο
διατηδᾶν ἐθισθῆ, καὶ ἀιαβεθηκός ἀταγέτω τὸ
μὲν τρῶτον μικρας, ἐτειτα δὲ καὶ μείζους ὅταν
δὲ μέλλῃ πηδᾶν, παισάτω αὐτὸν τῷ μίωτι.
ώσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀιατηδᾶν καὶ τὸ κατατηδᾶν
διδάσκων παισάτω τῷ μίωτι. ἀθρόω γὰρ τῷ
σωματι ταῦτα πάντα τοιωι καὶ ἔαυτῷ οἱ πτοι
καὶ τῷ ἀιαβάτῃ ἀσφαλέστεροι τοιήσει μᾶλλοι
ἡ ἀν ἐλλείπη τὰ ὄπισθεν ἡ διατηδῶν ἡ ἀιορούων
ἡ καθαλλόμειος
- 6 Εἴς γε μὴν τὸ κάταυτες τρῶτον χρὴ ἐν μαλακῷ
χωρίῳ διδάσκειν. καὶ τελευτῶν ἐτειδάν τοῦτο
ἐθισθῆ, πολὺ οὖδιον τὸ πραιὲς τοῦ ὄρθίου δρα-
μεῖται ἢ δὲ φοβοῦνται τινες μὴ ἀπορρηγνύωνται
τοὺς ὄμους κατὰ τὰ πρανῆ ἐλαυνόμενοι, θαρ-
ρούντων μαθόντες, ὅτι Πέρσαι καὶ Ὀδρύσαι
ἀπαντει τὰ κατάντη ἀμειλλώμενοι οὐδὲν οἵτον
τῶν Ἐλλήνων ὑγιεῖς τοὺς ἵππους ἔχουσι.
- 7 Παρήσομεν δὲ οὐδὲ ὄπως τὸν ἀναβάτην ὑπη-
ρετεῖν δεῖ πρὸς ἔκαστα τούτωι. χρὴ γὰρ ὄρμῶντος
μὲν ἔξαίφνης ἵππου προνεύειν οἵτον γὰρ ἀν καὶ
ὑποδύοι ὁ ἵππος καὶ ἀναβάλοι τὸν ἀναβάτην
ἐν μικρῷ δὲ ἀναλαμβανομένου ἀναπίπτειν. οἵτον
8 γὰρ ἀν αὐτὸς κόπτοιτο ταφρον δὲ διαλλομένου

When a man has a raw horse quite ignorant of leaping, he must get over the ditch himself first, holding him loosely by the leading rein, and then give him a pull with the rein to make him leap over it. If he refuses, let someone strike him as hard as he can with a whip or a stick whereupon he will leap, and not only the necessary distance, but much further than was required. In future there will be no need to beat him, for if he merely sees a man approaching behind him, he will leap. As soon as he has grown accustomed to leap in this way, let him be mounted and tried first at narrow, and then at wider ditches. Just as he is on the point of springing touch him with the spur. Similarly he should be taught to leap up and to leap down by a touch of the spur. For if he does all these things with his body compactly gathered, it will be safer for the horse as well as the rider than if his hind quarters lag in taking a leap over, or in springing upwards or jumping downwards.

Going down hill should first be taught on soft ground, and in the end, when the horse gets used to this, he will canter down more readily than up hill. If some fear that horses may put out their shoulders by being ridden down hill, they may take comfort when they understand that the Persians and Odrysians all ride races down hill, and yet keep their horses just as sound as the Greeks.

Nor will we omit to state how the rider is to assist in all these movements. If the horse springs suddenly, he should lean forward, for so the horse is less likely to slip away and throw the rider off. But in pulling him up short he should lean back, for so he himself will be less jolted. When jumping

καὶ πρὸς ὅρθιουν ἰεμένου καλὸν¹ χαίτης ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι, ώς μὴ ὁ ἵππος τῷ τε χωρίῳ ἄμα καὶ τῷ χαλινῷ βαρύνηται. εἰς γε μὴν τὸ πρανὲς καὶ ἑαυτὸν ὑπτιαστέον καὶ τοῦ ἵππου ἀντιληπτέον τῷ χαλινῷ, ώς μὴ προπετῶς εἰς τὸ κάταυτες μήτε αὐτὸς μήτε ὁ ἵππος φέρηται.

9 Ὁρθῶς δὲ ἔχει καὶ τὸ ἄλλοτε μὲν ἐν ἄλλοις τόποις, ἄλλοτε δὲ μακρὰς ἄλλοτε δὲ βραχεῖας τὰς ἵππασίας ποιεῖσθαι. ἀμισέστερα γὰρ τῷ ἵππῳ καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ ἀεὶ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς τόποις καὶ ὁμοίως τὰς ἵππασίας ποιεῖσθαι.

10 Ἐπεὶ δὲ δεῖ ἐν παντοῖς τε χωρίοις τὸν ἵππον ἀνὰ κράτος² ἐλαύνοντα ἔποχον εἶναι καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου τοῖς ὅπλοις καλῶς δύνασθαι χρῆσθαι, ὅπου μὲν ἔστι χωρία ἐπιτήδεια καὶ θηρία, ἀμεμπτος ἡ ἐν θήραις μελέτη τῆς ἵππικῆς· ὅπου δὲ ταῦτα μὴ ὑπάρχει, ἀγαθὴ ἀσκησις καὶ ἡν δύο ἵππότα συνθεμένω ὁ μὲν φεύγῃ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου παντοῖα χωρία καὶ τὸ δόρυ εἰς τούπισθεν μεταβαλόμενος ὑποχωρῆ, ὁ δὲ διώκῃ ἐσφαιρωμένα τε ἔχων ἀκόντια καὶ δόρυ ὥσταύτως πεπραγματευμένον· καὶ ὅπου μὲν ἀν εἰς ἀκόντιον ἀφικνῆται, ἀκοντίζῃ τὸν φεύγοντα τοῖς σφαιρωτοῖς· ὅπου δ' ἀν εἰς

11 δόρατος πληγήν, παίη τὸν ἀλισκόμενον. ἀγαθὸν δὲ καν̄ ποτε συμπέσωσιν, ἐλκύσαντα ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν τὸν πολέμιον ἔξαίφνης ἀπώσαι· τοῦτο γὰρ καταβλητικόν. Ὁρθῶς δὲ ἔχει καὶ τῷ ἐλκομένῳ ἐπε-

¹ καλὸν AB: κακὸν M: οὐ κακὸν S. with L.

² ἀνὰ κράτος MSS.: S. reads ἀγκράτος from Suidas.

a ditch or riding up hill it is well¹ to take hold of the mane, that the horse may not be burdened by his bridle and the difficulty of the ground at the same time When going down a steep incline, he should throw his body back and support the horse with the bridle, that neither rider nor horse may be tossed headlong down hill

It is correct also to exercise the horse sometimes in one place, sometimes in another, and to make the exercises sometimes long and sometimes short, for this is less irksome to the horse than being exercised always in the same place and for the same length of time

Since it is necessary that the rider should have a firm seat when riding at top speed over all sorts of country, and should be able to use his weapons properly on horseback, the practice of horsemanship by hunting is to be recommended where the country is suitable and big game is to be found Where these conditions are lacking, it is a good method of training for two riders to work together thus one flies on his horse over all kinds of ground and retreats, reversing his spear so that it points backwards, while the other pursues, having buttons on his javelins and holding his spear in the same position, and when he gets within javelin shot, tries to hit the fugitive with the blunted weapons, and if he gets near enough to use his spear, strikes his captive with it It is also a good plan, in case of a collision between them, for one to pull his adversary towards him and suddenly push him back again, since that is the way to dismount him The right thing for the man who is being pulled is to

¹ Of course no modern rider would *aspire* to do this

λαύνειν τὸν ἵππον τοῦτο γὰρ ποιῶν ὁ ἐλκόμενος
καταβάλοι ἀν μᾶλλον τὸν ἔλκοντα ἢ κατατέσσοι.

12 Πη δέ ποτε καὶ στρατοπέδου ἀντικαθημένου
ἀνθιππεύωσιν ἀλλιγίλοις καὶ διώκωσι μὲν μέχρι
τῆς πολεμίας φάλαγγος τοὺς ἀντίους, φεύγωσι
δὲ μέχρι τῆς φιλίας, ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐπί-
στασθαι, ὅτι ἔως μὲν ἀν παρὴ τοὺς φίλους τις ἥ-
καλὸν καὶ ἀσφαλὲς τὸ ἐν πρώτοις ἐπιστρέψαντα
ἀνὰ κράτος ἐπικεῖσθαι, ὅταν δὲ ἐγγὺς τῶν ἐναρ-
τίων γίγνηται, ὑποχείριον τὸν ἵππον ἔχειν. οὕτω
γὰρ ἀν ὡς τὸ εἰκός μάλιστα δύναιτο βλάπτων
τοὺς ἐναντίους μὴ βλάπτεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν.

13 Ἄνθρωποις μὲν οὖν ἄνθρωπον θεοὶ ἕδοσαν λόγῳ
διδάσκειν ἢ δεῖ ποιεῖν, ἵππον δὲ δῆλον ὅτι λόγῳ
μὲν οὐδὲν ἀν διδάξαις ἦν δὲ ὅταν μὲν ποιήσῃ
ὡς ἀν βούλη, ἀντιχαρίσῃ αὐτῷ, ὅταν δὲ ἀπειθῇ,
κολάζῃ, οὕτω μάλιστα μάθοι ἀν τὸ δέον ὑπη-

14 ρετεῖν· καὶ ἔστι μὲν τοῦτο ἐν βραχεῖ εἰπεῖν, δι'
ὅλης δὲ τῆς ἵππικῆς παρακολουθεῖ. καὶ γὰρ
χαλινὸν μᾶλλον ἀν λαμβάνοι, εἰ ὅπότε δέξαιτο
ἀγαθόν τι αὐτῷ ἀποβαίνοι· καὶ διαπηδῷ δ'
ἀν καὶ ἔξαλλοιτο καὶ τὰλλα πάντα ὑπηρετοίη
ἄν, εἰ προσδοκώῃ ὅπότε τὰ σημαινόμενα πράξειε
ῥαστώνην τινά.

IX. Καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ εἰρημένα ταῦτα ἔστιν, ὡς
ἄν ἱκιστα μὲν ἔξαπατῷ καὶ πῶλον καὶ ἵππον
ῶνούμενος, ἱκιστα δὲ ἀν διαφθείραι χρώμενος,
μάλιστα δὲ ἀν ἵππον ἀποδεικνύειν δέοι ἔχοντα
ῶν ἵππεὺς δεῖται εἰς πόλεμον. καιρὸς δὲ ἵσως
γράψαι καὶ εἴ ποτε συμβαίη θυμοειδεστέρω
ἵππω τοῦ καιροῦ χρῆσθαι ἢ βλακωδεστέρω, ὡς
ἄν ὁρθότατα ἔκατέρω χρῶτο.

urge his horse forward ; by doing this the pulled is more likely to unhorse the puller than to be unhorsed himself.

If at any time when an enemy's camp lies in front 12 there is a cavalry skirmish, and one side presses the pursuit right up to the enemy's line of battle, but then retreats hastily to its own main body, it is well to know in that case that so long as you are by your friends, it is proper and safe to be among the first to wheel and make for the enemy at full speed , but when you come near the enemy to keep your horse well in hand For in this way you have the best chance of injuring the enemy without coming to harm yourself.

Now, whereas the gods have given to men the power 13 of instructing one another in their duty by word of mouth, it is obvious that you can teach a horse nothing by word of mouth. If, however, you reward him when he behaves as you wish, and punish him when he is disobedient, he will best learn to do his duty. This rule can be stated in few words, but it applies 14 to the whole art of horsemanship. He will receive the bit, for example, more willingly if something good happens to him as soon as he takes it He will also leap over and jump out of anything, and perform all his actions duly if he can expect a rest as soon as he has done what is required of him.

IX So far we have described how to avoid being cheated in buying a colt or a horse, how to avoid spoiling him in usage and how to impart to a horse all the qualities required by a cavalryman for war It is time perhaps to give directions, in case one has to deal with a horse that is too spirited or too sluggish, for the correct way of managing either.

2 Πρῶτον τοίνυν χρὴ τοῦτο γνῶναι, ὅτι ἐστὶ¹
 θυμὸς ἵππῳ ὅπερ ὄργὴ ἀνθρώπῳ. ὥσπερ οὖν
 καὶ ἀνθρωπον ἥκιστ² ἀν ὄργίζοι τις μήτε λέγων
 χαλεπὸν μηδὲν μήτε ποιῶν, οὕτω καὶ ἵππον
 3 θυμοειδῆ ὁ μὴ ἀνιῶν ἥκιστ³ ἀν ἔξοργίζοι. εὐθὺς
 μὲν οὖν χρὴ ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ώς
 ἀν ἥκιστ⁴ ἀναβαίνων λυποίη ἐπειδὰν δ' ἀγαθῆ,
 ἡρεμήσαντα πλείω χρόνον ἢ τὸν ἐπιτυχόντα
 οὕτω προκινεῖν αὐτὸν ώς πραοτάτοις σημείοις.
 ἐπειτα δ' ἐκ τοῦ βραδυτάτου ἀρχόμενον οὕτως
 αὖ εἰς τὸ θᾶττον προάγειν, ώς ἀν μάλιστα
 λανθάνοι αὐτὸν ὁ ἵππος εἰς τὸ ταχὺ ἀφικνού-
 4 μενος. ὅ τι δ' ἀν ἔξαιρης σημῆνη, θυμοειδῆ
 ἵππον ὥσπερ ἀνθρωπον ταράττει τὰ ἔξαπίναια
 καὶ ὄράματα καὶ ἀκούσματα καὶ παθήματα.
 εἰδέναι δὲ χρή, ὅτι καὶ ἐν ἵππῳ τὰ ἔξαπίναια
 5 τάραχον ἔξεργάζεται.¹ ἦν δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ θᾶττον
 ὅρμωμενον τοῦ καροῦ ὑπολαμβάγειν βούλη τὸν
 θυμοειδῆ, οὐ δεῖ ἔξαπιναίως σπᾶν, ἀλλ' ἡρεμαίως
 προσάγεσθαι τῷ χαλινῷ πραύνοντα, οὐ βιαζό-
 6 μενον ἡρεμεῖν. καὶ αἱ τε μακραὶ ἐλάστεις μᾶλλον
 ἢ αἱ πυκναὶ ἀποστροφαὶ πραῦνουσι τοὺς ἵππους
 καὶ αἱ ἡσυχαῖαι μέν,² πολυχρόνιοι δὲ³ καθέψουσι
 καὶ πραῦνουσι καὶ οὐκ ἀνεγείρουσι τὸν θυμοειδῆ.
 7 εἰ δέ τις οἴεται, ἦν ταχὺ καὶ πολλὰ ἐλαύνηται,
 ἀπειπεῖν ποιήσας τὸν ἵππον πραῦνεῖν, τάνατία
 γιγνώσκει τοῦ γιγνομένου. ἐν γὰρ τοῖς τοιούτοις
 ὁ θυμοειδῆς καὶ ἀγειν βίᾳ μάλιστα ἐπιχειρεῖ καὶ
 σὺν τῇ ὄργῃ ὥσπερ ἀνθρωπος ὄργιλος πολλάκις
 καὶ ἔαυτὸν καὶ τὸν ἀναβάτην πολλὰ ἀνήκεστα

¹ S. with Cobet would omit this sentence. The καὶ before δεῖ is in A only, and is therefore not in S.

First, then, it must be realised that spirit in a horse is precisely what anger is in a man. Therefore, just as you are least likely to make a man angry if you neither say nor do anything disagreeable to him, so he who abstains from annoying a spirited horse is least likely to rouse his anger. Accordingly, at the moment of mounting, the rider should take care to worry him as little as possible, and when he is mounted, he should let him stand still longer than is otherwise usual, and then direct him to go by the most gentle aids. Then let him begin at a very slow pace and increase the speed with the same gentle help, so that the horse will not be aware of the transition to a quicker motion. Any sudden sign disturbs a spirited horse, just as sudden sights and sounds and sensations disturb a man. It is important to realise that a horse too is flurried by anything sudden. If you want to correct a spirited horse when he is going too fast, do not pull him suddenly, but quietly check him with the bit, soothing him, not forcing him, to a quiet pace. Long rides rather than frequent turnings, calm horses, and quiet ones lasting long soothe and calm a spirited horse and do not excite him. But if anyone supposes that he will calm a horse by frequent riding at a quick pace so as to tire him, his opinion is the opposite of the truth. For in such cases a spirited horse does his utmost to get the upper hand by force, and in his excitement, like an angry man, he often causes many irreparable injuries both

² μὲν is omitted by S

³ πολυχρόνιος δε Madvig πολυς δε χρόνος Δ πολὺς χρόνος
S with the other MSS

8 ἐποίησεν. ἐπιλαμβάνειν δὲ χρὴ ἵππον θυμοειδῆ καὶ τοῦ εἰς τὸ τάχιστον ὄρμᾶν, τοῦ δὲ δὴ παραβάλλειν ἵππῳ καὶ παιτάπασιν ἀπέχεσθαι σχεδὸν γὰρ καὶ φιλογικότατοι οἱ θυμοειδέστατοι τῶν ἵππων γίγνονται.

9 Καὶ χαλινοὶ δὲ οἱ λεῖοι ἐπιτηδειότεροι τῶν τραχέων. ἐὰν δὲ καὶ τραχὺς ἐμβληθῇ, τῇ χαλαρότητι λείῳ δεῖ αὐτὸν ἀφομοιοῦν. ἀγαθὸν δὲ ἔθιζεν αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ ιὔρεμεν, μάλιστα ἐπὶ θυμοειδοῦς ἵππου, καὶ τὸ ὡς ἥκιστα ἄλλῳ τινὶ ἀπτεσθαι ἢ οἷς τοῦ καθῆσθαι ἀσφαλῶς ἐγεκα ἀπτόμεθα.

10 Εἰδέναι δὲ χρή, ὅτι δίδαγμά ἔστι καὶ τὸ ποππυσμῷ μὲν πραΐνεσθαι, κλωγμῷ δὲ ἐγείρεσθαι. καὶ εἴ τις ἔξ ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ μὲν κλωγμῷ τὰ πραέα, ἐπὶ δὲ ποππυσμῷ τὰ χαλεπὰ προσφέροι, μάθοι ἀν ὁ ἵππος ποππυσμῷ μὲν ἐγείρεσθαι, κλωγμῷ

11 δὲ πραΐνεσθαι. οὕτως οὖν δεῖ καὶ παρὰ κραυγὴν καὶ παρὰ σάλπιγγα μήτ' αὐτὸν φαίνεσθαι τεθορυβημένον τῷ ἵππῳ μήτε μὴν ἐκείνῳ θορυβώδες μηδὲν προσφέρειν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ δυνατὸν καὶ ἀναπαύειν ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ καὶ ἄριστα καὶ δεῖπνα, εἰ

12 συγχωροίη, προσφέρειν. κάλλιστον δὲ συμβούλευμα τὸ ἄγαν θυμοειδῆ ἵππου μὴ κτᾶσθαι εἰς πολέμους.

Βλακί γε μὴν ἵππῳ ἀρκεῖν μοι δοκεῖ γράψαι πάντα τάναντία ποιεῖν ὅσα τῷ θυμοειδεῖ χρῆσθαι συμβούλεύομεν.

X. Ἡν δέ τίς ποτε βουληθῇ χρῆσθαι τῷ

to himself and to his rider. One must prevent¹ a high spirited horse from going at his top speed, and of course, entirely avoid letting him race with another horse, for as a rule the most highly spirited horses are also most eager for victory.

As for bits, the smooth are more suitable than the rough, but if a rough one is used, it should be made to resemble a smooth one by lightness of hand. It is also well to accustom oneself to sit still especially on a spirited horse and to touch him as little as possible with anything other than the parts that give us a safe seat by contact.

It should also be known that a horse can be taught to be calm by a chirp with the lips and to be roused by a cluck with the tongue. And if from the first you use with the cluck aids to calm him, and with the chirp aids to rouse him, the horse will learn to rouse himself at the chirp and to calm down at the cluck. Accordingly, if a shout is heard or a trumpet sounds, you must not allow the horse to notice any sign of alarm in you, and must on no account do anything to him to cause him alarm, but as far as possible let him rest in such circumstances, and, if you have the opportunity, bring him his morning or evening meal. But the best advice is not to get an over spirited horse for war.

As for a sluggish beast, I may be content with the remark that in everything you must do the opposite of what we advise for the treatment of a high spirited one.

X If a man wants to make a useful war horse

¹ Or, reading τὸν τοῦ for τοῦ with Pollack. one must try to stop a spirited horse even then from going at his full speed." A has τὸν τοῦ

χρησίμων εἰς τόλεμον ἵπποι μεγαλοπρεπεστέρω
 τε καὶ περιβλεπτοτέροι ἵππάζεσθαι, τοῦ μὲν
 ἔλκειν τε τὸ στόμα τῷ χαλινῷ καὶ μυωπίζειν
 τε καὶ μαστιγοῦντες δὲν ἵπποι, ἀοί τολλοὶ οἰ-
 οῦντες λαμπρύνειν οἴοιται, ἀέχεσθαι δεν τάγα
 γὰρ τάιαιτία οὗτοί γε τοιοῦσιν ὃν βούλονται.
 2 τά τε γὰρ στόματα ἐλκοῖτες αἱω ἀγτὶ τοῦ
 προορᾶν ἔκτυφλοῦσι τοὺς ἵππους καὶ μυωπίζοντες
 καὶ ταίοντες ἐκλίπτουσιν, ὥστε τεταράχθαι καὶ
 κινδυνεύειν. ταῦτα δὲ ἐστὶν ἵππων ἔργα τῶν
 μάλιστα ἀχθομένων ἵππασία καὶ αἰσχρὰ καὶ
 3 οὐ καλὰ οιούντων. ἐὰν δέ τις διδάξῃ τον ἵππον
 ἐν χαλαρῷ μὲν τῷ χαλινῷ ἵππεύειν, ἄνω δὲ τὸ
 αὐχένα διαιρεῖν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς κυρτοῦσθαι,
 οὗτως ἀντί περγάζοιτο τοιεῖν τον ἵππον οἴοιστερ
 4 καὶ αὐτὸς ἡδεταί τε καὶ ἀγάλλεται. τεκμήριον
 δὲ ὅτι τούτοις ἡδεται. ὅταν γὰρ σχηματοποι-
 εῖσθαι θέλῃ¹ ταρ' ἵππους, μάλιστα δὲ ὅταν
 παρὰ θηλείας, τότε αἱρεῖ τε τὸν αὐχένα αἰωτάτῳ
 καὶ κυρτοῖ μάλιστα τὴν κεφαλὴν γοργούμειος
 καὶ τὰ μὲν σκέλη ὑγρὰ μετεωρίζει, τὴν δὲ οὐρὰ⁵
 ἄνω ἀνατείνει. ὅταν οὖν τις αὐτὸν εἰς ταῦτα
 προάγῃ, ἀπέρ αὐτὸς σχηματοποιεῖται, ὅταν
 μάλιστα καλλωπίζηται, οὗτως ἡδόμενόν τε τῇ
 ἵππασίᾳ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῇ καὶ γοργὸν καὶ περι-
 βλεπτον ἀποφαίνει τὸν ἵππον ὡς οὖν ἡγούμεθα
 ταῦτ' ἀντεργασθῆναι, νῦν αὖ πειρασόμεθα
 διηγεῖσθαι.

6 Πρώτον μὲν τοίνυν χρὴ οὐ μεῖον δυοῖν χαλινοῖν
 κεκτῆσθαι. τούτων δε ἐστω ὁ μὲν λεῖος, τοὺς

¹ σχηματοποιεῖσθαι: θελη A - the rest have θέλη only B
 reads λυθεῖς θερ with Jacobs

look more stately and showy when ridden, he must avoid pulling his mouth with the bit, and using the spur and whip, means by which most people imagine that they show off a horse. In point of fact the results they produce are the very opposite of what they intend. For by dragging the mouth up they 2 blind their horses instead of letting them see ahead, and by spurring and whipping, flurry them so that they are startled and get into danger.¹ That is the behaviour of horses that strongly object to being ridden and that behave in an ugly and unseemly fashion. But if you teach the horse to go with a 3 slack bridle, to hold his neck up and to arch it towards the head, you will cause the horse to do the very things in which he himself delights and takes the greatest pleasure. A proof that he delights in 4 them is that whenever he himself chooses to show off before horses, and especially before mares, he raises his neck highest and arches his head most, looking fierce, he lifts his legs freely off the ground and tosses his tail up. Whenever, therefore, you 5 induce him to carry himself in the attitudes he naturally assumes when he is most anxious to display his beauty, you make him look as though he took pleasure in being ridden, and give him a noble, fierce, and attractive appearance. How we think that these effects may be produced we will now try to explain.

To begin with, you should possess two bits at 6 least.² One of these should be smooth and have the

¹ Or, reading *sureur* which occurred to Pollack and the translator independently, ‘twist about,’ ‘indulge in reactions.’ This is much more probable.

² See Introduction.

τροχοὺς εὐμεγέθεις ἔχων, ὁ δὲ ἔτερος τοὺς μὲν
τροχοὺς καὶ βαρεῖς καὶ ταπεινούς, τοὺς δὲ ἔχίνοις
δξεῖς, ἵνα ὅπόταν μὲν τοῦτον λάβῃ, ἀσχάλλω⁷
τῇ τραχύτητι διὰ τοῦτο ἀφίη, ὅταν δὲ τὸν λεῖον
μεταλάβῃ, τῇ μὲν λειότητι αὐτοῦ ἡσθῇ, ἢ δὲ
ὑπὸ τοῦ τραχέος παιδευθῆ, ταῦτα καὶ ἐν τῷ
λείῳ ποιῇ. ἦν δὲ αὖ καταφρονήσας τῆς λειότητος
θαμινὰ ἀπερείδηται ἐν αὐτῷ, τούτου ἔνεκα τοῖς
τροχοὺς μεγάλους τῷ λείῳ προστίθεμεν ἵνα
χάσκειν ἀναγκαζόμενος ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἀφίη τὸ
στόμιον. οἶον τε δὲ καὶ τὸν τραχὺν παντο
δαπὸν ποιεῖν καὶ κατειλοῦντα καὶ κατατείνοντα.
8 ὅποιοι δὲ ἀν ωσι χαλινοί, πάντες ὑγροὶ ἔστωσαν.
τὸν μὲν γὰρ σκληρόν, ὅπη ἀν ὁ ἵππος λάβῃ, ὅλον
ἔχει πρὸς ταῖς γνάθοις ὠσπερ καὶ ὀβελίσκον,
9 ὅπόθεν ἀν τις λάβῃ, ὅλον αἴρει. ὁ δὲ ἔτερος
ὠσπερ ἡ ἄλυσις ποιεῖ· ὁ γὰρ ἀν ἔχῃ τις αὐτοῦ,
τοῦτο μόνον ἄκαμπτον μένει, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο ἀπίγρτη-
ται. τὸ δὲ φεῦγον ἐν τῷ στόματι ἀεὶ θηρεύων
ἀφίησιν ἀπὸ τῶν γνάθων τὸ στόμιον. τούτου
ἔνεκα καὶ οἱ κατὰ μέσον ἐκ τῶν ἀξόνων δاكتύ-
λιοι κρεμάννυνται, ὅπως τούτους διώκων τῇ τε
γλώττῃ καὶ τοῖς ὀδοῦσιν ἀμελῆ τοῦ ἀναλαμβάνειν
πρὸς τὰς γνάθους τὸν χαλινόν.
10 Εἰ δέ τις ἀγνοεῖ, τί τὸ ὑγρὸν τοῦ χαλινοῦ καὶ
τί τὸ σκληρόν, γράψομεν καὶ τοῦτο. ὑγρὸν μὲν
γάρ ἔστιν, ὅταν οἱ ἀξονες εὔρείας καὶ λείας ἔχωσι
τὰς συμβολάς, ὠστε ῥᾳδίως κάμπτεσθαι, καὶ

¹ So as to mitigate the roughness of the teeth. This was sometimes done by covering the teeth with wax (Pollux i. 207).

discs of a good size, the other should have the discs heavy and low, and the teeth sharp, so that when the horse seizes it he may drop it because he objects to its roughness, and when he is bitten with the smooth one instead, may welcome its smoothness and may do on the smooth bit what he has been trained to do with the aid of the rough one. In 7 case, however, he takes no account of it because of its smoothness, and keeps biting against it, we put large discs on the smooth bit to stop this, so that they may force him to open his mouth and drop the bit. It is possible also to make the rough bit adaptable by wrapping¹ it up and tightening the reins². But whatever be the pattern of the 8 bits, they must all be flexible. For wherever a horse seizes a stiff one, he holds the whole of it against his jaws, just as you lift the whole of a spit wherever you take hold of it. But the other kind of 9 bit acts like a chain for only the part that you hold remains unbent, while the rest of it hangs loose. As the horse continually tries to seize the part that eludes him in his mouth, he lets the bit drop from his jaws. This is why little rings³ are hung in the middle on the axles, in order that the horse may feel after them with his tongue and teeth and not think of taking the bit up against the jaws.

In case the meaning of the terms flexible and 10 stiff as applied to a bit is not known, we will explain this too. "Flexible" means that the axles have broad and smooth links so that they bend easily,

¹ See c ix § 9

² Two sets, one hanging to each of the two links that form the centre joint of the two axles of which the "flexible" bit consisted. They are found in both the Berlin bits.

πάντα δὲ ὅπόσα περιτίθεται περὶ τοὺς ἄξονας,
 ήν εὐρύστομα ἢ καὶ μὴ σύμπυκτα, ὑγρότερά
 11 ἔστιν. ἡν δὲ χαλεπῶς ἔκαστα τοῦ χαλινοῦ δια-
 τρέχῃ καὶ συνθέῃ, τοῦτ' ἔστι σκληρὸν εἶναι.

'Οποῖος δ' ἂν τις ἦ, τούτῳ τάδε γε πάντα
 12 ταῦτὰ ποιητέον, ἡνπερ γε βούληται ἀποδείξασθαι
 τὸν ἵππον οἰονπερ εἴρηται. ἀνακρουστέον μὲν
 τὸ στόμα τοῦ ἵππου οὔτε ἄγαν χαλεπῶς ὥστε
 ἐκνεύειν, οὔτε ἄγαν ἡσύχως ὡς μὴ αἰσθάνεσθαι.
 ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἀνακρουσθεῖν αἱρῆ τὸν αὐχένα, δοτέον
 εὐθὺς τὸν χαλινόν. καὶ τάλλα δὲ δεῖ, ὡσπερ οὐ
 13 παυόμεθα λέγοντες, ἐν ὧ ἀν καλῶς ὑπηρετῇ,
 χαρίζεσθαι τῷ ἵππῳ. καὶ ὅταν δέ αἰσθηται
 ἡδόμενον τὸν ἵππον τῇ τε ὑψηλαυχείᾳ¹ καὶ τῇ
 χαλαρότητι, ἐν τούτῳ οὐδὲν δεῖ χαλεπὸν προσ-
 φέρειν ὡς πονεῖν ἀναγκάζοντα, ἀλλὰ θωπεύειν
 ὡς παύσασθαι βουλόμενον· οὕτω γὰρ μάλιστα
 14 θαρρῶν πρόεισιν εἰς τὴν ταχεῖαν ἵππασίαν. ὡς
 δὲ καὶ τῷ ταχὺ θεῖν ἵππος ἥδεται, τεκμήριον·
 ἐκφυγὼν γὰρ οὐδεὶς βάδην πορεύεται, ἀλλὰ θεῖ.
 τούτῳ γὰρ πέφυκεν ἥδεσθαι, ἡν μή τις πλείω
 τοῦ καιροῦ θεῖν ἀναγκάζῃ· ὑπερβάλλον δὲ τὸν
 καιρὸν οὐδὲν τῶν πάντων ἥδὺ οὔτε ἵππῳ οὔτε
 ἀνθρώπῳ.

15 'Οταν γε μὴν εἰς τὸ ἵππάζεσθαι μετὰ τοῦ
 κυδροῦ ἀφιγμένος ἦ, εἰθισμέος μὲν δηπου ἥμιν
 ἡν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἵππασίᾳ ἐκ τῶν στροφῶν εἰς τὸ
 θάττον ὄρμᾶσθαι. ἡν δέ τις τοῦτο μεμαθηκότος

¹ Meaning (1) the toothed cylinders, (2) the pendants to which the reins were attached, (3¹) the curved or S shaped branches with eyes to which the bridle was fastened. It is

and if everything that goes round the axles¹ has large openings, and does not fit tight, it is more flexible "Stiff," on the other hand, means that the pieces of the bit do not run over the axles and work in combination easily

Whatever the pattern may be, the same method of using it must be carried out in all the points that follow, assuming that you want your horse to have just the appearance I have described. The mouth¹² must neither be pulled so hard that he holds his nose in the air, nor so gently that he takes no notice. As soon as he raises his neck when you pull, give him the bit at once. Invariably, in fact, as we cannot too often repeat, you must humour your horse whenever he responds to your wishes. And when¹³ you notice that high carriage of his neck and lightness of hand give him pleasure, you should not deal hardly with him as though you were forcing him to work, but coax him as when you want to stop², for thus he will break into a fast pace with most confidence. There is plain proof that a horse¹⁴ takes pleasure in going fast for when he breaks loose a horse never goes at a walking pace, but always runs. He instinctively takes pleasure in this, provided he is not compelled to run too far for his strength. Nothing in excess is ever pleasing either to horse or man.

When your horse has progressed so far as to bear¹⁵ himself proudly when ridden, he has, of course, already been accustomed in the early exercises to break into a quicker pace after turning³. Now if after

curious that we do not know the Greek terms for (2) and (3)
"Let all the parts be loose" is what X means

¹ A has ἐνδεσθαι "to ride," for πενθεσθαι

* vii 17

νέων καὶ γεραιτέρων τὰ ὅμματα κατέχει. οἱ
γοῦν οὗτε ἀπολείπει αὐτὸν οὗτε ἀπαγορεύει
μενος, ἔστ’ ἀν περ ἐπιδεικνύηται τὴν λαμ-
τητα.

- 10 "Ην γε μήν ποτε συμβῆ τινι τῶν τοιο-
 ἵππου κεκτημένων ἡ φυλαρχῆσαι ἡ ἵππαρχῆ
 οὐ δεῖ αὐτὸν τοῦτο σπουδάζειν, ὅπως αὐτὸς μ
 λαμπρὸς ἔσται, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ὅπως ἐ^ι
11 τὸ ἐπόμενον ἀξιοθέατον φανεῖται. ἦν μὲν
 ἡγῆται, ώς μάλιστα ἐπαινοῦσι τοὺς τοιού-
 ἵππους, ὃς ἀν ἀνωτάτῳ αἰρόμενος καὶ πυκνότ-
 τὸ σῶμα βραχύτατον προβαίνῃ, δῆλον ὅτι
 βάδην ἔποιντ' ἀν οἱ ἄλλοι ἵπποι αὐτῷ. ἐκ
 ταύτης τῆς ὄψεως τί ἀν καὶ λαμπρὸν γένοιτ'^ι
12 ἦν δὲ ἔξεγείρας τὸν ἵππουν ἡγῆ μήτε τῷ ἄ-
 τάχει μήτε τῷ ἄγαν βράδει, ώς δὲ εὔθυμότα
 ἵπποι καὶ γοργότατοι καὶ¹ εὐσχημονέστα
 γίγνονται, ἐὰν ἡγῆ αὐτοῖς οὕτως, ἀθρόος μὲν ἐ^ι
 ὁ τύπος, ἀθρόον δὲ τὸ φρύαγμα καὶ τὸ φύση
 τῶν ἵππων συμπαρέποιτο³ ὥστε οὐ μόνον αὐτὶ⁴
 ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντες οἱ⁴ συμπαρεπόμενοι ἀξιοθέα
 ἀν φαίνοιντο.
13 "Ην γε μήν⁵ τις καλῶς ἵππωνήσῃ, τρέφῃ
 ώς πόνους δύνασθαι ὑποφέρειν, ὄρθως δὲ χρῆται
 καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρὸς πόλεμον μελετήμασι καὶ ἐν τι-
 πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν ἵππασίαις καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολεμικ-
 ἀγωνίσμασι, τί ἔτι ἐμποδὼν τούτῳ μὴ οἱ
 πλείονος τε ἀξίους ἵππους ποιεῖν ή οἵους⁶
 παραλαμβάνῃ, καὶ εὐδοκίμους μὲν ἵππους ἔχε-

¹ καὶ Weiske; καὶ ποτεῖς S. with the MSS.

³ εἰ, added by Courier, is omitted by S. with the MSS.

⁴ συμπαρέποιτο AB: συμπαρέσσοτε the other MSS.: S. omis-

gaze of all beholders, young and old alike. At all events no one leaves him or is tired of gazing at him so long as he shows off his brilliance.

Should the owner of such a horse happen to 10 be a colonel or a general, he must not make it his object to be the one brilliant figure,¹ but must attach much more importance to making the whole troop behind him worth looking at. Now if a horse is 11 leading in the manner which wins most praise for such horses, prancing high and with his body closely gathered, so that he moves forward with very short steps, the rest of the horses must obviously follow also at a walking pace. Now what can there be really brilliant in such a sight? But 12 if you rouse your horse and lead neither too fast nor too slow, but at the pace at which the most spirited horses look most fiery and stately—if you lead your men in that way, there will be such a continual stamping, such a continual neighing and snorting of the horses going on behind you, that not only you yourself but all the troop behind you will be worth watching.

If a man buys his horses well, trains them so that 13 they can stand work, and uses them properly in the training for war, in the exhibition rides and on the battle-fields, what is there then to hinder him from making horses more valuable than they are when he takes them over, and why should he not be the owner of famous horses, and also become famous

¹ Cavalry Commander, i. 22

* of A : less S. with the other MSS.

* μήτε A : μήτε B : μέτται S. with the rest.

* & επεις A : & επεις the other MSS., επεις S.

εύδοκιμεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ἵππικῇ, ἢν μή τι
δαιμόνιον κωλύῃ;

XII. Γράψαι δὲ βουλόμεθα καὶ ως δεῖ ὡπλίσθαι τὸν μέλλοντα ἐφ' ἵππου κινδυνεύειν.

Πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν φαμὲν χρῆναι τὸν θώρακα πρὸς τὸ σῶμα πεποιῆσθαι· τὸν μὲν γὰρ¹ καλῶς ἀρμόζοντα ὅλον φέρει τὸ σῶμα, τὸν δὲ ἄγαν χαλαρὸν οἱ ὥμοι μόνοι φέρουσιν, ὃ γε μὴν λίαν 2 στενὸς δεσμός, οὐχ ὅπλον ἔστιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ αὐχήν ἔστι τῶν καιρίων, φαμὲν χρῆναι καὶ τούτῳ ἔξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ θώρακος ὅμοιον τῷ αὐχένι στέγασμα πεποιῆσθαι. τοῦτο γὰρ ἂμα κόσμον τε παρέξει καὶ ἢν οἷον δεῖ εἰργασμένον ἦ, δέξεται 3 ὅταν βούληται τῷ ἀναβάτῃ τὸ πρόσωπον μέχρι τῆς ρίνος. κράνος γε μὴν κράτιστον εἶναι νομίζομεν τὸ βοιωτιούργες· τοῦτο γὰρ αὖ στεγάζει μάλιστα πάντα τὰ ὑπερέχοντα τοῦ θώρακος, ὅραν δὲ οὐ κωλύει. ὁ δὲ αὖ θώραξ οὔτως εἰργάσθω, ως μὴ κωλύη μήτε καθίζειν μήτ' ἐπικύνειν. περὶ δὲ τὸ ἱτρον καὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα καὶ τὰ 4 κύκλῳ αἱ πτέρυγες τοιαῦται καὶ τοσαῦται ἔστωσαν, ώστε στέγειν τὰ βέλη.² ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀριστερὰ χεὶρ ἢν τι πάθῃ, καταλύει τὸν ἵππεα, καὶ ταύτῃ ἐπαινοῦμεν τὸ εύρημένον ὅπλον τὴν χεῖρα καλουμένην. τόν τε γὰρ ὥμον σκεπάζει καὶ τὸν βραχίονα καὶ τὸν πῆχυν καὶ τὸ ἔχόμενον τῶν ἡνιῶν, καὶ ἐκτείνεται δὲ καὶ συγκάμπτεται πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὸ διαλεῖπον τοῦ θώρακος 6 ὑπὸ τῇ μασχάλῃ καλύπτει. τὴν γε μὴν δεξιὰν ἐπαίρειν δεῖ, ἢν τε ἀκοντίσαι ἢν τε πατάξαι

¹ τὸν μὲν γὰρ Α: τὸν μὲν the other MSS.: δτι τὸν μὲν Β.

² βέλη ΑΒ: μέλη Β. with the rest.

himself for his horsemanship, provided no divine power prevents?

XII We want to explain also how a man who is to face danger on horseback should be armed.

We say, then, that in the first place his breastplate must be made to fit his body. For the well-fitting breastplate is supported by the whole body, whereas one that is too loose is supported by the shoulders only, and one that is too tight is rather an encumbrance than a defence. And, since the neck is one of the vital parts, we hold that a covering should be available for it also, standing up from the breastplate itself and shaped to the neck. For this will serve as an ornament, and at the same time, if properly made, will cover the rider's face, when he pleases, as high as the nose. For the helmet we consider the Boeotian pattern the most satisfactory for this, again, affords the best protection to all the parts that project above the breastplate without obstructing the sight. As for the pattern of the breastplate, it should be so shaped as not to prevent the wearer from sitting down or stooping. About the abdomen and middle and round that region let the flaps be of such material and such a size that they will keep out missiles. And as a wound in the left hand disables the rider, we also recommend the piece of armour invented for it called the "hand"¹. For it protects the shoulder, the arm, the elbow, and the fingers that hold the reins, it will also extend and fold up, and in addition it covers the gap left by the breastplate under the armpit. But the right hand must be raised when the man intends to fling

¹ i.e. a gauntlet

βουληθῆ. τοῦ μὲν οὖν θώρακος τὸ κωλῦον
ταύτη ἀφαιρετέοι· ἀντὶ δὲ τούτου ττέρυγας ἐν
τοῖς γιγγλύμοις προσθετέον, ὅπως ὅταν¹ μὲν
διαιρηται, ὁμοίως ἀιατύσσωται, ὅταν δὲ
καταιρηται, ἐπικλείωνται. τῷ γε μὴν βραχίονι
τὸ ὕστερ κρημίς παρατιθέμειον βέλτιον² ἡμῖν
δοκεῖ εἶναι ἡ συνδεθὲν ὅπλω. τό γε μὴν ψιλού-
μενον αἱρομένης τῆς δεξιᾶς στεγαστέον ἐγγὺς
τοῦ θώρακος ἡ μοσχείω ἡ χαλκείω εἰ δὲ μή, ἐν
τῷ ἐπικαιροτάτῳ ἀφύλακτον ἔσται.

8 Ἐπείτερ δὲ οἵτινες ταῦτα γὰρ ἄμα καὶ τῷ ἀμ-
βάτῃ παραμηρίδια γέγνεται. τάιτων δὲ μᾶλιστα
τοῦ ἵππου τὸν κενεῶνα δεῖ σκεπάζειν· καὶ τοῖς
τατού γὰρ δύν καὶ ἀφαυρότατόν ἔστι· δυνατὸν δὲ
9 σὺν³ τῷ ἐφιππίῳ καὶ⁴ αὐτὸν σκεπάσαι χρὴ δὲ
καὶ τὸ ἑποχον τοιοῦτον ἐρράφθαι, ὡς ἀσφαλέ-
στερόν τε τὸν ἵππεα καθῆσθαι καὶ τὴν ἔδραν τοῦ
ἵππου μὴ σύνεσθαι.

10 Καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ ἄλλα οὕτω καὶ ὁ ἵππος καὶ ὁ
ἵππευς ὡπλισμένοι ἀν εἰεν κυῆμαι δὲ καὶ πόδες
ὑπερέχοιεν μὲν ἀν εἰκότως τῶν παραμηρίδιων,
όπλισθείη δὲ καὶ ταῦτα, εἰ ἐμβύδες⁵ γέοιντο
σκύτους, ἐξ οὐπερ⁶ αἱ κρητίδες ποιοῦνται· οὕτω
γὰρ ἀν ἄμα ὅπλον τε κυῆμαις καὶ ποσὶν ὑποδή-
ματ' ἀν εἴη.

¹ πτέρυγας . . . προσθετέον δπως ὅταν A πτέρυγες προσ-
θεται, ὅταν S with the rest. He also reads ἀνατύσσονται
and ἐπικλείονται against the MSS.

² βέλτιον A· ἀρκεῖν βέλτιον S with the rest.

³ All MSS have σύν, which S omits

his javelin or strike a blow. Consequently that portion of the breastplate that hinders him in doing that should be removed; and in place of it there should be detachable flaps at the joints, in order that, when the arm is elevated, they may open correspondingly, and may close when it is lowered. For the fore arm it seems to us that the piece put over it separately like a glove is better than one that is bound up together with a piece of armour.¹ The part that is left exposed when the right arm is raised should be covered near the breastplate with calf skin or metal, otherwise the most vital part will be unprotected.

Since the rider is seriously imperilled in the event of his horse being wounded, the horse also should be armed, having head, chest, and thigh pieces the last also serve to cover the rider's thighs. But above all the horse's belly must be protected, for this, which is the most vital part, is also the weakest. It is possible to make the cloth serve partly as a protection to it. The quilting of the cloth should be such as to give the rider a safer seat and not to gall the horse's back.

Thus horse and man alike will be armed in most parts. But the rider's shins and feet will of course be outside the thigh pieces. These too can be guarded if boots made of shoe leather are worn; there will thus be armour for the shins and covering for the feet at the same time.

¹ i.e. with the breastplate. Schneider thought that τῷ should be inserted before οὐλαφ.

* καὶ AB S omits

* ἐμβάθες A ἐμβάται S with the other MSS

* οὐλαφ AB ολουλαφ S with M

- 11 Ός μὲν δὴ μὴ βλάπτεσθαι θεῶν ἔλεων ὄντων
ταῦτα ὅπλα. ὡς δὲ τοὺς ἐγαντίους βλάπτειν,
μάχαιραν μὲν μᾶλλον ἡ ξίφος ἐπαινοῦμεν ἐφ'
ὑψηλοῦ γὰρ ὅιτι τῷ ἵππεῖ κοπίδος μᾶλλον ἡ
12 πληγὴ ἡ ξίφους ἀρκέσει. ἀντὶ γε μὴν δόρατος
καμακίου, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἀσθενὲς καὶ δύσφορόν
ἐστι, τὰ κρανέῖνα δύο παλτὰ μᾶλλον ἐπαινοῦμεν.
καὶ γὰρ ἐξαφεῖναι τὸ ἔτερον δυνατὸν τῷ ἐπιστα-
μένῳ καὶ τῷ λειπομένῳ ολόν τε χρῆσθαι καὶ εἰς
τὸ ἀντίον καὶ εἰς τὰ πλάγια καὶ εἰς τοῦπισθεν¹
καὶ ἡμα ἰσχυρότερά τε τοῦ δόρατος καὶ εὐφορώ-
τερά ἐστιν.
- 13 Ἀκόντισμά γε μὴν τὸ μακρότατον ἐπαινοῦμεν
καὶ γὰρ ἀποστρέψαι καὶ μεταλαβεῖν παλτὸν
οὗτῳ μᾶλλον ὁ χρόνος ἐγχωρεῖ. γράψομεν δὲ
ἐν βραχεῖ καὶ ὡς ἀν τις κράτιστα ἀκοντίζοι. ἦν
γὰρ προβαλλόμενος μὲν τὰ ἀριστερά, ἐπανάγων
δὲ τὰ δεξιά, ἐξανιστάμενος δ' ἐκ τῶν μηρῶν,
μικρὸν ἐπανακύπτουσαν τὴν λόγχην ἀφῇ, οὕτῳ
σφοδρότατόν τε καὶ μακρότατον οἴσεται τὸ
ἀκόντιον, εὐστοχώτατον μέντοι, ἐὰν κατὰ τὸν
σκοπὸν ἀφιεμένη ἀεὶ ὄρα ἡ λόγχη.
- 14 Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἴδιωτη καὶ ὑπομνήματα καὶ
μαθήματα καὶ μελετήματα γεγράφθω ἡμῖν. ἀ
δὲ ἵππάρχῳ προσῆκεν εἰδέναι τε καὶ πράττειν,
ἐν ἑτέρῳ λόγῳ δεδήλωται.

¹ τοῦπισθεν Α : τοῦμπροσθεν S. with the other MSS.

These are the defensive arms which with the 11
gracious assistance of heaven will afford protection
from harm. For harming the enemy we recom-
mend the *sabre*¹ rather than the sword, because,
owing to his lofty position, the rider will find the cut
with the Persian *sabre* more efficacious than the
thrust with the sword. And, in place of the spear 12
with a long shaft, seeing that it is both weak and
awkward to manage, we recommend rather the
two Persian javelins of cornel wood. For the skilful
man may throw the one and can use the other in
front or on either side or behind. They are also
stronger than the spear and easier to manage.²

We recommend throwing the javelin at the longest 13
range possible. For this gives a man more time to
turn his horse and to grasp the other javelin. We
will also state in a few words the most effective way
of throwing the javelin. If a man, in the act of
advancing his left side, drawing back his right, and
rising from his thighs, discharges the javelin with its
point a little upwards, he will give his weapon the
strongest impetus and the furthest carrying power,
it will be most likely to hit the mark, however, if at
the moment of discharge the point is always set on
it.

These notes, instructions and exercises which we 14
have here set down are intended only for the private
person. What it belongs to a cavalry leader to know
and to do has been set forth in another book.

¹ The *sabre* (*μάχαρα*) was used in the Macedonian and
the Persian army. *κονις* is the special term for the Persian
weapon.

² The two Persian javelins were shorter than the Greek
spear.

ON HUNTING

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΚΥΝΗΓΕΤΙΚΟΣ

I. Τὸ μὲν εῦρημα θεῶν, Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος, ἄγραι καὶ κύνες· ἔδοσαν δὲ καὶ ἐτίμησαν
2 τούτῳ Χείρωνα διὰ δικαιότητα. ὁ δὲ λαβὼν
ἔχάρη τῷ δώρῳ καὶ ἔχριτο· καὶ ἐγέροντο αὐτῷ
μαθῆται κυνηγεσίων τε καὶ ἑτέρων καλῶν Κέφαλος, Ἀσκληπιός, Μειλανίων, Νέστωρ, Ἀμφιάραος,
Πηλεύς, Τελαμών, Μελέαγρος, Θησεύς,
Ἴππόλυτος, Παλαμίδης, Ὄδυσσεύς, Μενεσθεύς,
Διομήδης, Κάστωρ, Πολυδεύκης, Μαχάων, Ποδαλείριος,
3 Ἀντίλοχος, Λίνείας, Ἀχιλλεύς· ὃν κατὰ
χρόνον ἔκαστος ὑπὸ θεῶν ἐτιμήθη. Θαυμαζέτω
δὲ μηδείς, ὅτι οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἀρέσκοντες θεοῖς
δῆμος ἐτελεύτησαν· τοῦτο μὲν γάρ η φύσις· ἀλλ'
οἱ ἐπαινοὶ αὐτῶν μεγάλοι ἐγένοντο· μηδὲ ὅτι οὐ
καὶ αἱ αὐτὰ ἡλικίαι πᾶσι τούτοις.¹ ὁ γάρ Χείρων
4 νος βίος πᾶσιν ἔξήρκει. Ζεὺς γάρ καὶ Χείρων
ἀδελφὸς πατρὸς μὲν τοῦ αὐτοῦ, μητρὸς δὲ ὁ μὲν
Ῥέας, ὁ δὲ Ναΐδος νύμφης· ὥστε ἐγεγόνει μὲν
πρότερος τούτων, ἐτελεύτησε δὲ ὕστερος ἐπεὶ²
Ἀχιλλέα ἐπαίδευσεν.

5 Ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἐπιμελείας τῆς³ τῶν κυνῶν
καὶ κυνηγεσίων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης παιδείας πολὺ⁴
διενεγκόντες κατὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐθαυμάσθησαν.

¹ πᾶσι τούτοις A: S. omits with the rest.

² ὕστερος ἐπεὶ A: ὕστερον ἡ ὡς S. with M.

ON HUNTING

I. GAME and hounds are the invention of gods, of Apollo and Artemis. They bestowed it on Cheiron and honoured him therewith for his righteousness. And he, receiving it, rejoiced in the gift, and used it. And he had for pupils in venery and in other noble 2 pursuits—Cephalus, Asclepius, Melanion, Nestor, Amphiarus, Peleus, Telamon, Meleager, Theseus, Hippolytus, Palamedes, Odysseus, Menestheus, Diomedes, Cistor, Polydeuces, Machaon, Podilearius, Antilochus, Aeneas, Achilles, of whom each in his time was honoured by gods. Let no man marvel that 3 the more part of these, even though they pleased gods, died none the less, for that was nature's work, but the praise of them grew mightily,—nor yet that not all of these flourished at one time. For Cheiron's lifetime sufficed for all. For Zeus and Cheiron were 4 brethren, sons of one sire, but the mother of the one was Rhea, of the other the nymph Nair.^{*} and so, though he was born before these, he died after them, for he taught Achilles.

Through the heed they paid to hounds and 5 hunting and the rest of their scholarship they excelled greatly and were admired for their virtue

* τῆς Schneider τῆς ἐκ S with the MSS

6 Κέφαλος μὲν καὶ ὑπὸ θεᾶς ἡρπάσθη, Ἀσκληπίος
δὲ μειζόνων ἔτυχεν, ἀνιστάναι μὲν τεθνεῶτας,
νοσοῦντας δὲ ἴασθαι· διὰ δὲ ταῦτα θεὸς ὡς ταρ'
7 ἀνθρώποις ὑείμνηστον κλέος ἔχει. Μειλανίων ἐξ
τοσοῦτου ὑπερέσχε φιλοπονίᾳ, ὥστε ὃν αὐτῷ
ἀντερασταὶ ἐγέιοντο οἱ τότε¹ ἄριστοι τῶν τότε
μεγίστων γάμων μόνος ἔτυχεν Ἀταλάντης
Νέστορος δὲ προδιελήλυθεν ἡ ἀρετὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων
8 τὰς ἀκούις, ὥστε εἰδόσιν ἀν λέγοιμι. Ἀμφιάραος
δὲ ὅτι ἐπὶ Θήβας ἐστράτευσε, πλεῖστον κτησάμενος
ἐπαιρον ἔτυχε παρὰ θεῶν ὑείζως² τιμᾶσθαι.
Πηλεὺς δ' ἐτιθυμίαν παρέσχε καὶ θεοῖς δοῦιαι τε
Θέτιν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν γά
9 Τελαμῶν δὲ τοσοῦτος ἐ
τῆς μεγίστης ἦν αὐτος
τῆς Ἀλκύθου ὅτε δὲ ὁ πρῶτος τῶν Ιλλητῶν
ἔδιδου τὰ ἄριστεῖα Ἡρακλῆς ὁ Διός, ἐλῶν
10 Τροίαν, Ἡσιόνην αὐτῷ ἔδωκεν. Μελέαγρος ἐξ
τὰς μὲν τιμὰς ἃς ἔλαβε φαιεραί πατρὸς δ' ἐν
γῆρᾳ ἐτιλπιθαι ομένου τῆς θεοῦ οὐχ αὐτοῦ
αἰτίαις ἐδιστύχησε. Θησεὺς δὲ τοὺς μὲν τῆς
Ἑλλάδος ἔχθρους τάσσης μόνος ἀπώλεσε· τῆς δ'
αἵτοι πατρίδα πολλῷ μείζω τοιήσας ἔτι καὶ νῦν
11 θαυμάζεται. Ἰττύλιτος ἐξ ὑπὸ μὲν τῆς Ἀρτέ
μίδος ἐτιμάτο καὶ ἐν λόγοις ἵν, σωφροσύνη ἐδὲ καὶ
ὅσιότητι μικαρισθεῖς ἐτελεύτησε. Παλαμῆσης
ἐε ἔως μεν ἵν, πολὺ τῶν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ ὑπερεσχε
σοτίῃ, ἀτομαὶ ἂν δὲ ἀσίκως τοσαύτης ἔτυχε
τιμω, ιατρὸν θεῶν, οὐκούσεις ἄλλος ἀνθρωπος

1 The variation of δ by η
2 As the limit of δ goes with the M₄₉.

Cephalus was carried away by a goddess¹ Asclepius 6
 won yet² greater preferment—to raise the dead, to
 heal the sick, and for these things he has everlasting
 fame as a god among men Meilinon was so peerless⁷
 in love of toil that, though the princeliest of that age
 were his rival suitors for the greatest Lady of the
 time, only he won Atalanta Nestor's virtue is an old
 familiar tale to Greek ears, so there is no need
 for me to tell of it Amphiarus when he fought⁸
 against Thebes, gained great praise and won from the
 gods the honour of immortality Peleus stirred
 a desire even in the gods to give him Thetis and to
 hymn their marriage in Cheiron's home Telamon⁹
 waxed so mighty that he wedded from the greatest
 city the maiden of his choice, Periboea, daughter
 of Alcathus and when the first of the Greeks,
 Heracles son of Zeus, distributed the prizes of valour
 after taking Troy, to him he gave Hesione¹⁰ As for
 Meleager, the honours that he won are manifest,
 and it was not by his own fault that he came to sorrow
 when his father in old age forgot the goddess³
 Theseus single handed slew the enemies of all
 Greece, and because he enlarged greatly the borders
 of his country he is admired to this day Hippolytus¹¹
 was honoured by Artemis and held converse with
 her, and for his prudence and holiness he was
 counted happy when he died Palamedes far out
 stripped the men of his generation in wisdom while
 he lived, and being unjustly slain he won from the
 gods such vengeance as fell to the lot of no other

¹ Aurora² The καὶ before οὐδ in the text should probably be placed before με Γένων³ i.e. when his father Oeneus forgot Artemis—a laps which led ultimately to the death of Meleager

- ἐτελεύτησε δὲ οὐχ ὑφ' ὧν οἰονται τινες· οὐ γὰρ ἀν
ἢν ὁ μὲν σχεδόν τι ἄριστος, ὁ δὲ ὅμοιος ἀγαθοῖς·
 12 κακοὶ δὲ ἐπραξαν τὸ ἔργον. Μενεσθεὺς δὲ ἐκ
τῆς ἐπιμελείας τῆς¹ τῶν κυνηγεσίων τοσοῦτον
ὑπερέβαλε φιλοπονίᾳ, ὥστε ὅμολογεν τοὺς τῶν
Ἐλλήνων πρώτους ὑστέρους εἶναι τὰ εἰς τὸν
πόλεμον ἔκείνου πλὴν Νέστορος καὶ οὗτος οὐ
 13 προέχειν λέγεται, ἀλλὰ ἐρίζειν. Ὁδυσσεὺς δὲ
καὶ Διομήδης λαμπροὶ μὲν καὶ καθ' ἐν ἔκαστον,
τὸ δὲ ὅλον αἴτιοι Τροίαν ἀλῶνται. Κάστωρ δὲ
καὶ Πολυδεύκης ὅσα ἐπεδείχαντο ἐν τῇ Ἐλλάδι
τῶν παρὰ Χείρωνος διὰ τὸ ἀξίωμα τὸ ἐκ τούτων
 14 ἀθάνατοί εἰσι. Μαχάων δὲ καὶ Ποδαλείριος
παιδευθέντες τὰ αὐτὰ πάντα ἐγένοντο καὶ τέχιας
καὶ λόγους καὶ πολέμους ἀγαθοῖς. Ἀντίλοχος
δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπεραποθανὼν τοσαύτης ἔτυχεν
εὔκλείας, ὥστε μόνος φιλοπάτωρ παρὰ τοῖς
 15 "Ἐλλησιν ἀγαγαρευθῆναι. Αἰνείας δὲ σώσας μὲν
τοὺς πατρώους καὶ μητρώους θεούς, σώσας δὲ καὶ
αὐτὸν τὸν πατέρα δόξαν εύσεβειας ἔξηνέγκατο,
 16 ὥστε καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι μόνῳ ἔκείνῳ ὡν ἐκράτησαν
ἐν Τροίῃ ἔδοσαν μὴ συληθῆναι. Ἄχιλλεὺς δ' ἐν
ταύτῃ τῇ παιδείᾳ τραφεὶς οὕτω καλὰ καὶ μεγάλα²
μιημεῖα παρέδωκεν, ὥστε οὕτε λέγων οὕτε ἀκούων
περὶ ἔκείνου οὐδεὶς ἀπαγορεύει.
 17 Οὗτοι τοιοῦτοι ἐγένοντο ἐκ τῆς ἐπιμελείας τῆς

¹ τῆς Schneider: τῆς de S. with the MSS.

² Olympos and Diomedes, who, according to one account, drowned Palamedes when he was fishing. The reference here may be to this version. In Memorabilia IV. ii. 4 X. follows the commoner version that Olympos got P. put to

mortal But his end was not compassed by those¹ whom some imagine, else could not the one of them have been well nigh the best, and the other the peer of the good, but bad men did the deed Menestheus 12 through the heed he paid to hunting, so far surpassed others in love of toil that the first of the Greeks confessed themselves his inferiors in feats of war, all save Nestor, and he, it is said,² outdid not, but rivalled him Odysseus and Diomedes were brilliant in 13 every single deed, and in short, to them was due the capture of Troy Castor and Polydeuces, through the renown that they won by displaying in Greece the arts they learned of Cheiron, are immortal Machaon and Podaleirius, schooled in all the self 14 same arts, proved in crafts and reasonings and wars good men Antilochus, by giving his life for his father,³ won such glory that he alone was proclaimed among the Greeks as "the Devoted Son" Aeneas 15 saved the gods of his father's and his mother's family, and withal his father himself, wherefore he bore away fame for his piety, so that to him alone among all the vanquished at Troy even the enemy granted not to be despoiled Achilles, nursed in this school 16 ing, bequeathed to posterity memorials so great and glorious that no man wearies of telling and hearing of him

These, whom the good love even to this day and 17 death by a false charge of treachery, and in the *Odyssesus* attributed to the rhetorician Alcidamus Diomedes at 1 Stelenus are associated with Olyssesus in bringing this charge In revenge for his death his father Nauplius caused the shipwreck of the Greek fleet off the south of Euboea.

¹ In *Hind* ii. 55.

² How Antilochus, son of Nestor, saved his father's life is told by Pindar in the sixth *Pythian*.

παρὰ Χείρωνος, ὃν οἱ μὲν ἀγαθοὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἔρωσιν, οἱ δὲ κακοὶ φθονοῦσιν, ὥστ' ἐν μὲν τῇ Ἑλλάδι εἴ τῳ συμφοραὶ ἐγίγνουντο ἡ πόλει ἡ βασιλεῖ, ἐλύοντο δι'¹ αὐτούς· εἰ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς βαρ-βάρους πάντας πάσῃ τῇ Ἑλλάδι νεῦκος ἡ πόλε-μος, διὰ τούτους οἱ "Ἑλληνες ἐκράτουν, ὥστε ἀνίκητον τὴν Ἑλλάδα παρασχεῖν.

18 Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν παραινῶ τοῖς νέοις μὴ καταφρο-νεῖν κυνηγεσίων μηδὲ τῆς ἄλλης παιδείας· ἐκ τούτων γάρ γίγνονται τὰ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἀγαθοὶ εἰς τε τὰ ἄλλα, ἐξ ὃν ἀνάγκη καλῶς νοεῖν καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν.

II. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν χρὴ ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ ἐπιτή-δευμα τὸ τῶν κυνηγεσίων τὸν ἡδη ἐκ παιδὸς ἄλλάττοντα τὴν ἡλικίαν, εἴτα δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἄλλα παιδεύματα, τὸν μὲν ἔχοντα σκεψάμενον τὴν οὐ-σίαν· ω̄ μὲν ἔστιν ἵκανή, ἀξίως τῆς αὐτοῦ ὡφελείας, ω̄ δὲ μὴ ἔστιν, ἀλλ' οὖν τὴν γε προ-θυμίαν παρεχέσθω μηδὲν ἐλλείπων τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεως.

2 Οσα δὲ καὶ οἷα δεῖ παρεσκευασμένον ἐλθεῖν ἐπ' αὐτό, φράσω καὶ αὐτὰ καὶ τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἐκάστου, ἵνα προειδὼς ἐγχερῆ τῷ ἔργῳ. καὶ μηδεὶς αὐτὰ φαῦλα νομιστάτῳ εἶναι· ἀνευ γὰρ δὴ τούτων οὐκ ἀν εἰη πρᾶξις.

3 Χρὴ δὲ τὸν μὲν ἄρκυρὸν εἶναι ἐπιθυμοῦντα τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τὴν φωνὴν "Ἑλληνα, τὴν δὲ ἡλικίαν περὶ ἔτη εἴκοσι, τὸ δὲ εἶδος ἐλαφρόν, ἴσχυρόν, ψυχὴν δὲ ἵκανόν, ἵνα τῶν πόνων τούτοις κρατῶν
4 χαίρῃ τῷ ἔργῳ. τὰς δὲ ἄρκυς Φασιανοῦ ἡ Καρ-

¹ S. omits δι' with the better MSS.

the evil envy, were made so perfect through the care they learned of Cheiron that, when troubles fell upon any state or any king in Greece, they were composed through their influence; or if all Greece was at strife or at war with all the Barbarian powers, these brought victory to the Greeks, so that they made Greece invincible.

Therefore I charge the young not to despise 18 hunting or any other schooling. For these are the means by which men become good in war and in all things out of which must come excellence in thought and word and deed.

II. The first pursuit, therefore, that a young man just out of his boyhood should take up is hunting, and afterwards he should go on to the other branches of education, provided he has means. He must look to his means, and, if they are sufficient, spend as much as the benefit to himself is worth; or, if they are insufficient, at least let him supply enthusiasm, in no way coming short of his power.¹

I will give a list and a description of the intending 2 hunter's outfit, and the explanation of each item, in order that he may understand the business before he puts his hand to it. And let no one regard these details as trivial; inasmuch as nothing can be done without them.

The net-keeper should be a man with a keen 3 interest in the business, one who speaks Greek, about twenty years old, agile and strong, and resolute, that, being well qualified to overcome his tasks, he may take pleasure in the business. The purse-nets should 4

¹ The text of this paragraph is open to suspicion. The words from *εἴτη* to *Ιχθύα* may be an afterthought.

γενέσιον λαρυγγόν τινον καὶ τὸ δρίζειν καὶ τὸ
κλεῖσαι.

Πάντα δὲ αἱ μήριαν θεοῖς θυσίας δε τρεῖς
τίνουται, οὐδετέρα δὲ τίνει τὸ τρίτον λίνον, τὸ δὲ
μάγειον, εἰ περιποτίαν, διτύλωτον δὲ τούτον διὰ τὸ
χωρίον, τοῦ τετράποδον τὸν τετράποδον τὸν διπλόνον
εἰ μήτοι.¹ ἵνα εὔφροχον ὄντι, τὰ δὲ ἄνθες αἱ διώσεις.
Λίνον, τὰ δὲ δίετρα διεπιδεσμάτινα, τὸ δὲ μάγειον
τὰ μήριαν εἰσωργύα, τετράποδα, τετράποδα,
τὰ δὲ δίετρα διεωργύα, εἰσοσωργύα, τριακο-
τῶριν τὸν δὲ γῆ μείζων, εἰσομεταχειρίστητα διπλά-
νικότερον δὲ τριακοτέλλινατα, καὶ τὰς βρόχους
δὲ τὸ διάστημα λαος ταῖς ἀπενταίνει. ἐν δὲ τοῖς
ἀπροθείσι τὰ μήριαν ἔχεται μαστοίς, τὰ δὲ
δίετρα διεκτυλίνει, τοῖς δὲ τεριέροντος ἀπὸ
τοτροφείον. αἱ δὲ σχαλίδες τῶν μήρων ἀπέντεν τὸ
μῆρος δέσποινται παλινοτάτῃ, τοτωσαν δὲ καὶ οὐτούς
αἱ μήριαν μίσοι αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς ἑτεροκλινέσι τῶν
χωρίων, ἵνα τὰ ἴψη ἐξαίρωσιν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς
οὐαλέσιν αἱ λαοις αὐταις διὰ εὐτερίσπαστοι τὰ
ἄκρα καὶ αὐταις λεῖαις τῶν δὲ ἑρδίων διτλά-

¹ τετραποδος A : τετραποδος S, a conjecture based on the other MSS.

² εἰ τετράποδοι διερράπτοι S against the MSS.

³ i.e. Colchian. Much flax and linen was exported from Colchis.

⁴ The cords meant here are those that ran round the mouth of the purse, and served as a running noose to close it when the hare got in.

⁵ i.e. ten meshes, so that the extreme height, if the net was fully stretched, would be five feet. Poachers now use slip knots or nets about four feet deep with a mesh of two-and-a-half inches.

be made of fine Phasian¹ or Carthaginian flax, and the road nets and hayes of the same material.

Let the purse-nets be of nine threads woven in three strands, each strand consisting of three threads. The proper length for these nets is forty five inches, the proper width of the meshes six inches. The cords that run round² them must be without knots, so that they may run easily. The road-nets should be of twelve threads, and the hayes of sixteen. The length of the road nets may be twelve, twenty-four or thirty-feet, that of the hayes sixty, a hundred and twenty, or a hundred and eighty feet. If they are longer, they will be unwieldy. Both kinds should be thirty knots³ high, and should have meshes of the same width as those of the purse-nets. At the elbows⁴ at either end let the road-nets have slip knots of string and the hayes metal rings,⁴ and let the cords⁵ be attached by loops. The stakes for the⁶ purse nets should be thirty inches long, but some should be shorter. Those of unequal length are for use on sloping ground, to make the height of the nets equal, while those of the same length are used on the level. These stakes must be so shaped at the top that the nets will pull off readily and they must be smooth.⁶ The stakes for the road nets

¹ The rings running down the two sides were used for joining two nets together.

² i.e. the cords running along the top and bottom of the nets.

³ The author means, I think, to imply a contrast between the stakes of the purse nets and those of the other nets. The second *altra* in the text can scarcely be right, possibly *vel altra*. *Avis* should be omitted, or *avisi*, "They themselves," read with Dindorf.

XENOPHION

σιαι, αἱ δὲ τῶν δίκτυων τὸ μὲν μέγεθος πειτεσπίθαμοι, δικρά ἔχουσαι μικρά, τὰ ἐντμήματα μὴ βαθέα· εὐπαγεῖς δὲ πᾶσαι καὶ μὴ ἀσύμμετροι τὰ
 8 πάχη πρὸς τὰ μήκη. τῷ δὲ πλήθει τῶν σχαλίδων οἰοῦ τέ ἐστι χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὰ δίκτυα πολλῷ καὶ ὀλίγῳ ἐλάττον μέν, ἀν σφόδρα τείνηται ἐν τῇ
 9 στάσει πλέον δ', ἀν ἡσυχῇ. ἐστω δὲ καὶ ἐν
 ὅτῳ ἔσονται αἱ ἄρκυς καὶ τὰ ἐνόδια καὶ δίκτυα¹
 κυνοῦχος μόσχειος καὶ τὰ δρέπανα, ἵνα γὰρ τῆς
 ὑλῆς τέμνοντα φράττειν τὰ δεόμενα.

III. Τὰ δὲ γένη τῶν κυνῶν ἐστι διττά, αἱ μὲν
 γάρ καστόριαι, αἱ δὲ ἀλωπεκίδες. ἔχουσι δ' αἱ
 μὲν καστόριαι τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ταύτην, ὅτι Κάστωρ
 ἥσθεις τῷ ἔργῳ μάλιστα αὐτὰς διεφύλαξεν· αἱ δ'
 ἀλωπεκίδες, διότι ἐκ κυνῶν τε καὶ ἀλωπέκων
 ἐγένοντο· ἐν πολλῷ δὲ χρόνῳ συγκέκραται αὐτῶν
 2 η φύσις. χείρους δὲ καὶ πλείους αἱ τοιαίδε,
 μικραί, γρυπαί, χαροποί, μυωποί, ἄμορφοι,²
 σκληραί, ἀσθενεῖς, ψιλαί, ὑψηλαί, ἀσύμμετροι,
 3 ἄψυχοι, ἄρρινες, οὐκ εὔποδες. αἱ μὲν οὖν μικραὶ
 πολλάκις³ ἀποστεροῦνται τῆς ἔργασίας διὰ τὸ
 μικρόν· αἱ δὲ γρυπαὶ ἀστομοι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐ
 κατέχουσι τὸν λαγῶν χαροποί⁴ δὲ καὶ μυωποὶ
 χείρω τὰ ὄμματα ἔχουσιν, ἄμορφοι δὲ καὶ αἰσχραὶ
 ὄρασθαι· αἱ δὲ σκληραὶ τὰ εἴδη χαλεπῶς ἀπὸ
 τῶν κυνηγεσίων ἀπαλλάττουσι· πονεῖν δὲ ἀδύ-
 νατοι αἱ ἀσθενεῖς καὶ αἱ ψιλαὶ· καὶ αἱ ὑψηλαὶ
 μὲν καὶ ἀσύμμετροι ἀσύντακτα ἔχουσαι τὰ

¹ τὰ ἐνδῖα καὶ δίκτυα A: τὰ δίκτυα ἐν ἑκατέροις S. with the rest.

² ἄμορφοι Rühl: αἰσχαλ MSS : S omits.

³ S adds ἐκ τῶν κυνηγεσίων omitted in AB.

⁴ μυωποὶ δὲ καὶ χαροποὶ S. with BM.

should be twice the length of these, and those for the hayes forty-five inches long. The latter¹ should have little forks with shallow grooves, and all should be stout, of a thickness proportioned to the length. The number of stakes used for the 8 hayes may be large or small, fewer are required if the nets are strained tight when set up, more if they are slack. A calf skin big will be wanted for carrying the purse-nets and road nets and hayes and the bill-hooks for cutting wood and stopping gaps where necessary.

III The hounds used are of two kinds, the Castorian and the Vulpine². The Castorian is so called because Castor paid special attention to the breed, making a hobby of the business. The Vulpine is a hybrid between the dog and the fox, hence the name. In the course of time the nature of the parents has become fused. Inferior specimens (that is to say, the majority) show one or more of the following defects. They are small, hook-nosed, grey-eyed, blinking, ungainly, stiff, weak, thin-coated, lanky, ill proportioned, cowardly, dull-scented, unsound in the feet. Now small dogs often drop out of the running through their want of size, hook nosed dogs have no mouth and can't hold the hare, grey eyed dogs and blinkers have bad sight, ungainly dogs look ugly, stiff ones are in a bad way at the end of the hunt, no work can be got out of the weak and the thin-coated ones; those that are lanky and ill proportioned are heavy movers and carry them-

¹ Or perhaps he means both sets

² Both are Laconian varieties, the Castorian being much the larger. The Vulpine resembled a fox; hence the erroneous idea that it was a hybrid between dog and fox (O Keller, *die antike Tierwelt*, i. 121)

ΧΕΝΟΡΗΙΟΝ

σώματα βαρέως διαφοιτῶσιν αἱ ἄψυχοι δὲ λεῖ.
πουσι τὰ ἔργα καὶ ὑφίστανται τὸν ἥλιον ὑπὸ τὰς
σκιὰς καὶ κατακλίνονται αἱ δὲ ἄρρενοι μόλις
καὶ ὀλιγάκις αἰσθάνονται τοῦ λαγῶ· αἱ δὲ ἅποδες
οὐδὲ ἐὰν ὡσιν εὗψυχοι, τοὺς πόρους δύνανται
ἀνέχεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀπαγορεύουσι διὰ τὸ ἄλγος τῶν
ποδῶν.

- 4 Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἵχνεύσεως πολλοὶ τρόποι ἐκ
τῶν αὐτῶν κυνῶν αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐπειδὰν λάβωσι τὰ
ἴχνη, πορεύονται ἀσήμως, ὡστε μὴ γιγνώσκεσθαι
ὅτι ἵχνεύουσιν, αἱ δὲ τὰ ὡτα μόνον διακινοῦσι,
τὴν δὲ οὐρὰν ἱσυχῇ ἔχουσιν, αἱ δὲ τὰ ὡτα μὲν
ἀκίνητα ἔχουσιν, ἄκρᾳ δὲ τῇ οὐρᾷ σείουσιν.
5 ἄλλαι δὲ συνάγουσι τὰ ὡτα καὶ ἐπισκυθρω-
πάσασαι διὰ τοῦ ἴχνους σχάσασαι τὴν οὐρὰν καὶ
φράξασαι διατρέχουσι πολλαὶ δὲ τούτων μὲν
οὐδὲν ποιοῦσι, μανικῶς δὲ περιφερόμεναι ὑλα-
κτοῦσι περὶ τὰ ἴχνη, ὅτε δὲ¹ εἰσπίπτουσι εἰς
αὐτά, ἀφρόνως καταπατοῦσαι τὰς αἰσθήσεις.
6 εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ κύκλοις πολλοῖς χρώμεναι καὶ πλάνοις
ὑπολαμβάνουσαι ἐκ τοῦ πρόσω² τὰ ἴχνη παρα-
λείπουσι τὸν λαγῶ, ὁσάκις δὲ ἐπιτρέχουσι τὰ
ἴχνη, εἰκάζουσι, προορώμεναι δὲ τὸν λαγῶ τρέ-
μουσι καὶ οὐκ ἐπέρχονται, πρὶν ἰδωσιν ὑποκι-
νοῦντα. ὅσαι δὲ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων κυνῶν εὐρήματα
ἐν ταῖς ἵχνείαις καὶ μεταδρομαῖς προθέουσι θαμινὰ
σκοποῦσαι, ἔαυταῖς ἀπίστως ἔχουσι. Θρασεῖαι δὲ
αἱ οὐκ ἔωσι τῶν συνεργῶν τὰς σοφὰς εἰς τὸ
πρόσθεν προΐέναι, ἀλλ' ἀνείργουσι θορυβοῦσαι
αἱ δὲ ἀσπαζόμεναι τὰ ψευδῆ καὶ ὑπερλαμπρυ-
νόμεναι ἐφ' ὅτῳ ἀν τύχωσι προάγουσι συνειδυῖατ

¹ δὲ is omitted by S. with M.

selves anyhow; cowards leave their work and give up and slink away from the sun into shady places and lie down; dogs with no nose seldom scent the hare and only with difficulty, and those with bad feet, even if they are plucky, can't stand the hard work, and tire because they are foot sore.

Moreover, hounds of the same breed vary much 4 in behaviour when tracking. Some go ahead as soon as they find the line without giving a sign, and there is nothing to show that they are on it. Some move the ears only, but keep the tail still; others keep the ears still and wag the tip of the tail. Others prick up the ears¹ and run frowning along 5 the track, dropping their tails and putting them between their legs. Many do none of these things, but rush about madly round the track, and when they happen upon it, stupidly trample out the traces, barking all the time. Others again, continually circling 6 and straying, get ahead of the line when clean off it and pass the hare, and every time they run against the line, begin guessing, and if they catch sight of the hare, tremble and never go for her until they see her stir. Hounds that run forward and frequently 7 examine the discoveries of the others when they are casting about and pursuing have no confidence in themselves; while those that will not let their cleverer mates go forward, but fuss and keep them back, are confident to a fault. Others will drive ahead, eagerly following false lines and getting wildly excited over anything that turns up, well know-

¹ The Greek hound had short ears (cf. c. iv. 1) like a fox-terrier

έαυταις ὅτι ἔξαπατῶσιν· αἱ δὲ οὐκ εἰδυῖαι τὸ αὐτὸ⁸
ποιοῦσι ταύταις· φαῦλαι δὲ αἱ οὐκ ἀπαλλα-
τόμεναι ἐκ τῶν τριμμῶν τὰ ὄρθα οὐ γιγνώσκουσαι.

δσαι δὲ τῶν κυνῶν τὰ ἵχνη τὰ μὲν εὐναῖα
ἀγνοοῦσι, τὰ δὲ δρομαῖα ταχὺ διατρέχουσιν, οὐκ
εἰσὶ γνήσιαι· διώκουσι δὲ αἱ μὲν ἀρχόμεναι
σφόδρα, διὰ δὲ μαλακίαν ἀνιᾶσιν, αἱ δὲ ὑπο-
θέουσιν, εἴτα ἀμαρτάνουσιν, ἔτεραι δὲ ἀνοήτως
ἐμπίπτουσαι εἰς τὰς ὁδοὺς ἀμαρτάνουσι τὸ

9 ἀνήκουστον πολὺ ἔχουσαι. πολλαὶ δὲ τὰ διώγ-
ματα ἀφιεῖσαι ἐπανέρχονται διὰ τὸ μισόθηρον,
πολλαὶ δὲ διὰ τὸ φιλάνθρωπον· αἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν
10 ἵχνῶν κεκλαγγυῖαι ἔξαπατάν πειρῶνται ἀληθῆ
τὰ ψευδῆ ποιούμεναι. εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ τοῦτο μὲν οὐ
ποιοῦσι, μεταξὺ δὲ θέουσαι ἀν ποθεν ἀκούσωσι
κραυγῆς, καταλείπουσαι τὰ αὐτῶν ἔργα ἀπρο-
νοήτως ἐπὶ τοῦτο φέρονται· μεταθέουσι γὰρ αἱ
μὲν ἀσαφῶς, αἱ δὲ πολὺ ὑπολαμβάνουσαι,
δοξάζουσαι δὲ ἐτέρως.¹ αἱ δὲ πεπλασμένως,
φθονερῶς δὲ ἄλλαι ἔκκυνοῦσι παρὰ τὸ ἵχνος διὰ
τέλους συμπεριφερόμεναι.

11 Τὰ μὲν οὖν πλεῖστα τούτων φύσει ἔχουσι,² τὰ
δὲ ἡγμέναι ἀνεπιστημόνως δύσχρηστοι εἰσιν· αἱ
τοιαῦται μὲν οὖν κύνες ἀποτρέψειαν ἀν τοὺς
ἐπιθυμοῦντας κυνηγεσίων. οἵας δὲ δεῖ εἶναι τοῦ
αὐτοῦ γένους τά τε εἰδη καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, φράσω.

IV. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν χρὴ εἶναι μεγάλας, εἴτα
ἔχούσας τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐλαφράς, σιμάς, ἀρθρώδεις,
ἰγώδη τὰ κάτωθεν τῶν μετώπων, ὅμματα μετέωρα,
μέλανα, λαμπρά, μέτωπα μεγάλα καὶ πλατέα.

¹ ιτέ, ως Λ: ἔτερα S. with BM.

² έχουσαι S. with M.

ing that they are playing the fool; others will do the same thing in ignorance. Those that stick to game paths and don't recognise the true line are poor tools. A hound that ignores the trail¹ and races over the track of the hare on the run is ill bred. Some, again, will pursue hotly at first, and then slack off from want of pluck, others will cut in afield and then get astray, while others foolishly dash into roads and go astray, deaf to all recall. Many abandon the pursuit and go back through their hatred of game, and many through their love of man. Others try to mislead by baying on the track, representing false lines as true ones. Some, though free from this fault, leave their own work when they hear a shout from another quarter while they are running, and make for it recklessly. When pursuing some are dubious, others are full of assumptions but their notions are wrong. Then there are the skirters, some of whom merely pretend to hunt, while others out of jealousy perpetually scamper about together beside the line.

Now most of these faults are natural defects, but some by which hounds are spoilt are due to unintelligent training. Anyhow such hounds may well put a keen hunter off the sport. What hounds of the same breed² ought to look like and what they should be in other respects I will now explain.

IV First, then, they should be big. Next, the head should be light, flat³ and muscular, the lower parts of the forehead sinewy, the eyes prominent, black and sparkling, the forehead broad, with a

¹ 'The trail of the hare is the path she takes in going to her seat' —Beckford

² The author's ideal harrier is clearly the Castorian

³ In profile

τὰς διακρίσεις βαθείας, ὡτα μικρά,¹ λεπτά,
ψιλὰ ὅπισθειν, τραχιήλους μακρούς, ὑγρούς, περι-
φερεῖς, στήθη πλατέα, μὴ ἀσαρκα, ἀπὸ τῶν
ώμων τὰς ώμοπλάτας διεστώσας μικρόν, σκέλη²
τὰ πρόσθια μικρά, ὄρθια, στρογγύλα, στιφρά,
τοὺς ἀγκῶνας ὄρθούς, πλευρὰς μὴ ἐπὶ γῆν³
βαθείας, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ πλάγιον παρηκούσας, δσφὺς
σαρκώδεις, τὰ μεγέθη μεταξὺ μακρῶν καὶ βρα-
χέων, μητε ὑγρὰς λίαι μήτε σκληράς, λαγόνας
μεταξὺ μεγάλων καὶ μικρῶν, ἵσχια στρογγύλα,
ὅπισθεν σαρκώδη, ἀνωθεν δὲ μὴ συγδεδεμένα,
ἔνδοθεν δὲ προσεσταλμένα, τὰ κάτωθεν τῶν
κενεώνων λαγαρὰ καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς κενεῶνας, οὔρας
μακράς, ὄρθις, λιγυράς, μηριαίας σκληράς, ὑπο-
κώλια μακρά, περιφερῆ, εὐπαγῆ, σκέλη πολὺ⁴
μείζω τὰ ὅπισθεν τῶν ἔμπροσθεν καὶ ἐπίρρικνα,
2 πόδας περιφερεῖς. καὶ ἐὰν ὥσι τοιαῦται αἱ
κύνες, ἕσονται ἴσχυραὶ τὰ εἴδη, ἐλαφραὶ, σύμ-
μετροι, ποδώκεις καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν προσώπων φαιδραὶ
καὶ εὔστομοι.

3 Ἰχνευέτωσαν δ' ἐκ τῶν τριμμῶν ταχὺ ἀπαλλα-
τόμεναι, τιθεῖσαι τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐπὶ γῆν λεχρίας,
ἐμμειδιώσαι μὲν πρὸς τὰ ἵχνη, ἐπικαταβάλλουσαι
δὲ τὰ ὡτα, καὶ⁵ τὰ μὲν ὄμματα πυκνὰ διακινοῦ-
σαι, ταῖς δὲ οὔραις διασαίνουσαι, κύκλους πολλοὺς
4 πρὸς τὰς εὐνὰς προΐτωσαν ὁμοῦ διὰ τοῦ ἵχνους
ἀπασαι. ὅταν δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν ὥσι τὸν λαγῶ,

¹ μακρά S, a wrong conjecture² ἐπὶ γῆν AB ἐπίπαρ S with M³ καὶ A: S omits with the rest.⁴ i.e. not bent inwards or outwards.

deep dividing line; the ears small and thin with little hair behind; the neck long, loose and round; the chest broad and fairly fleshy, the shoulder-blades slightly outstanding from the shoulders; the fore-legs short, straight, round and firm; the elbows straight¹; the ribs not low down on the ground,² but sloping in an oblique line, the loins fleshy, of medium length, and neither too loose nor too hard, the flanks of medium size; the hips round and fleshy at the back, not close at the top, and smooth on the inside³; the under part of the belly and the belly itself

longer than the fore-legs and slightly bent, feet round. Hounds like these will be strong in appearance, agile, well-proportioned, and speedy; and they will have a jaunty expression and a good mouth.

When tracking they should get out of the game paths quickly, hold their heads well down and aslant, smiling when they find the scent and lowering their ears; then they should all go forward together along the trail towards the form circling frequently,⁵ with eyes continually on the move and tails wagging. As soon as they are close on the hare,

* So Pollux read, for he says μὴ πρὸς τὴν γῆν βαθυνομένας. The sense is then that the ribs are not to be low on the ground when the hound is couchant, but well tucked up would apply to ng would be that

¹ i.e. without folds in the coat towards the loins

² From the elbows to the feet

³ A participle to govern κόκλους πελλούς has dropped out of the text

δῆλον ποιείτωσαν τῷ κυνηγέτῃ θᾶττον φοιτῶσαι,
μᾶλλον γιγαρίζουσαι ἀπὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ, ἀπὸ τῆς
κεφαλῆς, ἀπὸ τῶν ὄμμάτων, ἀπὸ τῆς μεταλ-
λάξεως τῶν σχημάτων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναβλεμ-
μάτων καὶ ἐμβλεμμάτων εἰς τὴν ὥλην καὶ ἀνα-
στρεμμάτων¹ τῶν ἐπὶ τὰς καθέδρας τοῦ λαγῶ καὶ
ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν καὶ διπισθεν καὶ εἰς τὸ
πλάγιον διαρριμμάτων καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀληθῶς ἥδη
αἰωρεῖσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ ὑπερφαίρειν, ὅτι τοῦ
λαγῶ ἔγγύς είσι.

5 Διωκέτωσαν δὲ ἐρρωμένως καὶ μὴ ἐπανιεῖσαι
σὺν πολλῇ κλαγγῇ καὶ ὥλαγμῷ, συνεκπερῶσαι
μετὰ τοῦ λαγῶ πάντη· μεταθείτωσαν δὲ ταχὺ²
καὶ λαμπρῶς, πυκνὰ μεταφερόμεναι καὶ ἐπανα-
κλαγγάνουσαι δικαίως· πρὸς δὲ τὸν κυνηγέτην μὴ
ἐπανίτωσαν λιποῦσαι τὰ ἔχη.

6 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦ εἴδους καὶ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου εὗψυχοι
ἔστωσαν καὶ εὔρινες καὶ εὔποδες³ καὶ εὐτριχες.
εὕψυχοι μὲν οὖν ἔσονται, ἐὰν μὴ λίπωσι τὰ
κυνηγέσια, ὅταν ἡ πινύη· εὔρινες δέ, ἐὰν τοῦ λαγῶ
ὅσφραινωνται ἐν τόποις ψιλοῖς, ξηροῖς, προσ-
ηλίοις τοῦ ἀστρουν ἐπιόντος· εὔποδες δέ, ἐὰν τῇ
αὐτῇ ὥρᾳ μὴ καταρρηγνύωνται αὐτῶν οἱ πόδες
τὰ ὅρη θεουσῶν· εὐτριχες δέ, ἐὰν ἔχωσι λεπτήν

7 καὶ πυκνὴν καὶ μαλακὴν τὴν τρίχα. τὰ δὲ
χρώματα οὐ χρὴ εἶναι τῶν κυνῶν οὔτε πυρρὰ
οὔτε μέλανα οὔτε λευκὰ παντελῶς· ἔστι γὰρ οὐ
γενναῖον τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ τὸ³ ἀπλοῦν καὶ θηριῶδες.

8 αἱ μὲν οὖν πυρραὶ ἔχουσαι ἔστωσαν λευκὴν τρίχα
ἐπανθοῦσαν περὶ τὰ πρόσωπα καὶ αἱ μέλαιναι, αἱ

¹ εἰς . . ἀναστρεμμάτων is omitted by S.

ON HUNTING, IV 4-8

they should let the huntsman know, quickening the pace and showing more emphatic signs by their excitement, movements of the head and eyes, changes of attitude, by looking up and looking into the covert and returning again and again to the hare's form, by leaps forward, backward and to the side, displays of unaffected agitation and overpowering delight at being near the hare

They should pursue with unremitting vigour, giving tongue and barking freely, dogging the hare's steps wherever she goes. They should be fast and brilliant in the chase, frequently casting about and giving tongue in the right fashion, and they should not leave the track and go back to the huntsman.

Along with this appearance and behaviour they should have pluck, keen noses, sound feet and good coats. They will be plucky if they don't leave the hunting ground when the heat is oppressive, keen nosed if they smell the hare on bare, parched and sunny ground in the dog days¹, sound in the feet if at the same season their feet are not torn to bits during a run in the mountains, they will have a good coat if the hair is fine, thick and soft. The colour of the hounds should not be entirely tawny, black or white, for this is not a sign of good breeding. On the contrary, unbroken colour indicates a wild strain. So the tawny and the black hounds should show a patch of white about the

¹ The older commentators are probably right in understanding the allusion to be to the Dog star in to the sun

* *elates et ali cedes A cedes et ali S with the rest*

* *et ali et ali Isdermacher et ali S with the rest*

δὲ λευκαὶ πυρρῶν ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς μηριαῖας ἄκραις
τρίχας ὄρθιές, βαθείας, καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς ὀσφύσι καὶ
ταῖς οὐραῖς κύτῳ, ἄγοθεν δὲ μετρίας.

“Ἄγειν δὲ ἀμειγον τὰς κύρας εἰς τὰ ὅρη πολ-
λάκις, τὰ δὲ ἔργα ἥττον τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὅρη οἰόν τ-
ἐστι καὶ ἰχνεύειν καὶ μεταθεῖν καθαρῶς, τὰ δὲ
ἔργα οὐδέτερα διὰ τοὺς τριμμούς. ἐστι δὲ καὶ
ἄνευ τοῦ εύρισκειν τὸν λαγῶν ἀγαθὸν ἄγειν τὰς
κύρας εἰς τὰ τραχέα· καὶ γὰρ εὐπόδες γίγνονται
καὶ τὰ σώματα διαποιοῦνται ἐν τόποις τοιούτοις
ἀφελοῦνται. ἀγέσθωσαν δὲ θέρους μὲν μέχρι¹
μεσημβρίας, χειμῶνος δὲ δι' ἡμέρας, μετοπώρου
δ' ἔξω μεσημβρίας, ἐντὸς δ' ἐσπέρας τὸ ἕαρ. ταῦτα
γὰρ μέτρια.

V. Τὰ δὲ ἔχνη τοῦ λαγῶν μὲν χειμῶνος μακρά
ἐστι διὰ τὸ μῆκος τῶν νυκτῶν, τοῦ δὲ θέρους
βραχέα διὰ τὸ ἐναντίον. χειμῶνος μὲν οὖν πρωὶ²
οὐκ ὅξει αὐτῶν, ὅταν πάχνη ἡ ἡ παγετός· ἡ μὲν
γὰρ πάχνη τῇ αὐτῇσι ἴσχυί ἀντισπάσασα τὸ θερ-
μὸν ἔχει ἐν αὐτῇ, ὁ δὲ παγετὸς ἐπιπήξας. καὶ αἱ
κύνες μαλκιῶσαι τὰς ρῖνας οὐ δύνανται αἰσθά-
νεσθαι, ὅταν ἡ τοιαῦτα, πρὶν ἀν ὁ ἥλιος διαλύσῃ
αὐτὰ ἡ προϊοῦσα ἡ ἡμέρα· τότε δὲ καὶ αἱ
κύνες ὀσφραίνονται καὶ αὐτὰ ἐπαναφερόμενα ὅξει.
3 ἀφανίζει δὲ καὶ ἡ πολλὴ δρόσος καταφέρουσα
αὐτά, καὶ οἱ ὅμβροι οἱ γιγνόμενοι διὰ χρόνου
ὸσμὰς ἄγοντες τῆς γῆς ποιοῦσι δύσοσμον, ἔως
ἀν ψυχθῆ· χείρω δὲ καὶ τὰ νότια ποιεῖ· ὑγραί-
νοντα γὰρ διαχεῖ· τὰ δὲ βόρεια, ἐὰν ἡ ἄλυτα,

¹ ἄγειν τῆς γῆς has no parallel in Greek prose: perhaps *ik*
has fallen out or *τὴν γῆν* should be read.

face, and the white hounds a tawny patch At the top of the thighs the hair should be straight and thick, and on the loins and at the lower end of the tail, but it should be moderately thick higher up

It is advisable to take the hounds to the mountains 9 often, but less frequently to cultivated land For in the mountains it is possible to track and follow a hare without hindrance, whereas it is impossible to do either in cultivated land owing to the game paths It is also well to take the hounds out into rough 10 ground, whether they find a hare or not, for they get sound in the feet, and hard work in such country is good for their bodies In summer they should be 11 out till midday, in winter at any hour of the day, in autumn at any time except midday, and before evening during the spring, for at these times the temperature is mild

V The scent of the hare lies long in winter owing to the length of the nights, and for a short time in summer for the opposite reason In the winter, however, there is no scent in the early morning whenever there is a white frost or the earth is frozen hard For both white and black frost hold heat, since the one draws it out by its own strength, and the other congeals it The hounds noses, too, 2 are numbed by the cold, and they cannot smell when the tracks are in such a state until the tracks thaw in the sun or as day advances Then the dogs can smell and the scent revives A heavy dew, 3 again, obliterates scent by carrying it downwards, and storms, occurring after a long interval, draw smells from the ground and make the earth bad for scent until it dries South winds spoil scent, because the moisture scatters it, but north winds concentrate

4 συνίστησι καὶ σώζει. οἱ δὲ ὑετοὶ κατακλύζουσι
 καὶ αἱ ψακάδες, καὶ ἡ σελήνη ἀμαυροῖ τῷ θερμῷ,
 μάλιστα δε ὅταν ἡ πανσέληνος· καὶ μανότατα
 τότε· χαίροντες γὰρ τῷ φέγγει ἐπαναρριπτοῦντες,
 μακρὰ διαιρουσιν¹ ἀντιπαίζοντες· ταραχώδη δέ·
 5 ὅταν ἀλώπεκες προδιεξέλθωσι, γίγνεται. τὸ δὲ
 ἔαρ κεκραμένον τῇ ὥρᾳ καλῶς παρέχει τὰ ἵχνη
 λαμπρά, πλὴν εἴ τι ἡ γῆ ἔξανθοῦσα βλάπτει τὰς
 κύνας, εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ συμμιγνύσα τῶν ἀνθῶν τὰς
 ὁσμάς λεπτὰ δὲ καὶ ἀσαφῆ τοῦ θέρους· διά-
 πυρος γὰρ οὖσα ἡ γῆ ἀφανίζει τὸ θερμόν, ὃ
 ἔχουσιν· ἔστι γὰρ λεπτόν καὶ αἱ κύνες ἡττοῦ
 ὁσφραίνονται τότε διὰ τὸ ἐκλελύσθαι τὰ σώματα.
 τοῦ δὲ μετοπώρου καθαρά· ὅσα γὰρ ἡ γῆ φέρει,
 τὰ μὲν ἡμερα συγκεκόμισται, τὰ δὲ ἄγρια γήρη²
 διαλέλυται· ὥστε οὐ παραλυποῦσι τῶν καρπῶν
 6 αἱ ὁσμαὶ εἰς ταύτα φερόμεναι. ἔστι δὲ τοῦ χει-
 μῶνος καὶ τοῦ θέρους καὶ τοῦ μετοπώρου τὰ ἵχνη
 ὀρθὰ ἐπὶ τὰ πολύ, τοῦ δὲ ἡρος συμπεπλεγμένα·
 τὸ γὰρ θηρίον συνδυάζεται μὲν ἀεί, μάλιστα δὲ
 ταύτην τὴν ὥραν ὥστε διὰ τοῦτο ἔξ ἀνάγκης μετ'
 ἀλλήλων πλανωμενοι τοιαῦτα ποιοῦσιν.

7 "Οἵτινες δὲ τῶν ἵχνῶν ἐπὶ πλείω χρόνον τῶν
 εὑναίων ἡ τῶν δρομαίων τὰ μὲν γὰρ εὐταῖα ὁ
 λαγῶς τορεύεται ἐφιστάμενος, τὰ δὲ δρομαῖα
 ταχύ· ἡ γῆ οὖν τῶν μὲν πυκνοῦται, τῶν δὲ οὐ
 τίμπλαται. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὑλώδεσι μᾶλλον ἡ ἐν
 τοῖς ψιλοῖς ὁζεῖ· διατρέχων γὰρ καὶ ἀνακαθίζων
 ἀπτεται τολλῶν.

¹ διαιρουσιν Radermacher διαιροῦσιν S with the MSS

² Or "deadens the heat" if we read τὸ θερμόν with Geseer
 but the Greeks did attribute heat to the moon

and preserve it, if it has not been previously dissolved. Heavy showers drown it, and so does light rain, and 4 the moon deadens it by its warmth,¹ especially when at the full. Scent is most irregular at that time, for the hares, enjoying the light, fling themselves high in the air and jump a long way, frolicking with one another, and it becomes confused when foxes have crossed it. Spring with its gentle temperature yields 5 a clear scent, except where the ground is studded with flowers and hampers the hounds by mingling the odours of the flowers with it. In summer it is thin and faint, for the ground, being baked, obliterates what warmth it possesses, which is thin, and the hounds' noses are not so good at that season, because their bodies are relaxed. In the autumn it is unimpeded, for the cultivated crops have been harvested and the weeds have withered, so that the odours of the herbage do not cause trouble by mingling with it. In winter and summer and autumn the 6 scent lies straight in the main. In spring it is complicated, for though the animal couples at all times, it does so especially at this season,² so instinct prompts them to roam about together, and this is the result they produce.

The scent left by the hare in going to her form lasts longer than the scent of a running hare. For on the way to the form the hare keeps stopping, whereas when on the run she goes fast, consequently the ground is packed with it in the one case, but in the other is not filled with it. In covers it is stronger than in open ground, because she touches many objects while running about and sitting up.

* The ' March hare '

8 Κατακλύονται δ' εἰς ἡ γῆ φύει η ἔχει ἐφ',
 οὐαῖτης ὑπὸ ταῖτι, ἐτ' αὐτῶν, ἐν αὐτοῖς, —αρ
 αὐταῖς, ἀποθεν τολύ, μικρόι, μεταξὺ τοίπον· οὐ-
 δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ διαρριπτῶν ἐτὶ το δυιατὸς
 καὶ ἐν ὕδατι, ἐάν τι η ὑ-ερέχον η ἐμτεφυκός ἐν
 9 τούτῳ. ο μὲν οὖν¹ εὐλαῖος τοιούμειος εἰνὴν ἐ-
 τὸ τολὺ ὅταν μὲν η ψύλη, ἐν εὐδιεποῖς, ὅταν δὲ
 καύματα, ἐν ταλισκίοις, τὸ δὲ ἔαρ καὶ τὸ φθιό-
 τωρον ἐν τροσηλίοις· οἱ δὲ δρομαῖοι οὐχ οὕτω
 διὰ τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν κυιῶν ἔκτληκτοι² γίγεσθαι
 10 κατακλυνεται δὲ ὑποθεῖς τὰ ὑγοκώλια ὑπὸ τὰς
 λαγόνας, τὰ δὲ πρόσθεν σκέλη τὰ τλεῖστα
 συιθεῖς καὶ ἔκτείνας, ἐτ' ἄκρους δὲ τοὺς πόδας
 τὴν γένυν καταθεῖς, τὰ δὲ ὠτα ἐπιτετάσας ἐτὶ
 τὰς ὀμοπλάτας, εἴτα δὲ ὑποστέγει τὰ ὑγρά ἔχει
 δὲ καὶ τὴν τρίχα στεγανήν· πυκνὴ γὰρ καὶ
 11 μαλακή καὶ ὅταν μὲν ἐγρηγόρη, καταμύει τὰ
 βλέφαρα, ὅταν δὲ καθεύδῃ, τὰ μὲν βλέφαρα
 ἀναπέπταται ἀκίνητα, οἱ δὲ ὄφθαλμοὶ ἀτρέμας
 ἔχουσι· τοὺς δὲ μυκτῆρας, ὅταν μὲν εῦδη, κινεῖ
 12 πυκνά, ὅταν δὲ μή, ἡττον ὅταν δὲ η γῆ βρύη,
 μᾶλλον τὰ ἔργα η τὰ ὅρη ἔχουσιν. ὑπομένει δὲ
 τανταχοῦ ἰχνευόμενος, ἐάν μήτι περίφοβος τῆς
 μυκτὸς γένηται· παθὼν δὲ τούτο ὑποκινεῖ.
 13 Πολύγοιον δ' ἔστιν οὕτως, ὥστε τὰ μὲν τέτοκε,

¹ οὖν should probably be omitted
² ξυπληκτοι S, after Schneider

¹ See "The Hare," Fur and Feather Series, p 33 f

² The fluctuation between plural and singular is in the Greek.

They find a resting place where there is anything 8 growing or lying on the ground, underneath anything, on the top of the objects, inside, alongside, well away or quite near or fairly near, occasionally even in the sea¹ by springing on to anything she² can reach, or in fresh water, if there is anything sticking out or growing in it, the hare,³ when going to her 9 form generally choosing a sheltered place for it in cold weather and a cool one in hot, but in spring and autumn a place exposed to the sun; but hares on the run do not do that, because they are scared by the hounds When she sits, she puts the hind-legs under the 10 flanks, and most commonly keeps the fore-legs close together and extended, resting the chin on the ends of the feet, and spreading the ears over the shoulder-blades, so that⁴ she covers the soft parts The hair too, being thick and soft, serves as a protection. When 11 awake she blinks her eyelids, but when she is asleep the eyelids are wide open and motionless, and the eyes still She moves her nostrils continually when sleeping, but less frequently when awake When the ground is bursting with vegetation they 12 frequent the fields rather than the mountains Wherever she may be she remains there when tracked, except when she is suddenly alarmed at night, in which case she moves off

The animal is so prolific that at the same time she is 13

The distinction is not, as often supposed, between hares with different *habits* ("squatters," *svaasi*, and "roamers" *svaapaa*—a non-existent distinction), but merely between the behaviour of all hares in different circumstances. The unusual, but not unexampled position of the article—*d* and *e*—has misled interpreters. Blane saw the true meaning

¹ I do not think that *ela* *ti* can mean this, and I suspect that *ela* is wrong.

- τὰ δὲ τίκτει, τὰ δὲ κυεῖ. τῶν δὲ μικρῶν λαγίων
 ὅζει μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν μεγάλων ἔτι γὰρ ὑγρομελῆ
 14 ὄντα ἐπισύρεται ὅλα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. τὰ μὲν οὖν
 λίαν νεογνὰ οἱ φιλοκυνηγέται ἀφιᾶσι τῇ θεῷ· οἱ
 δὲ ἥδη ἔτειοι τάχιστα θέουσι τὸν πρῶτον δρόμον,
 τοὺς δ' ἄλλους οὐκ ἔτι εἰσὶ γὰρ ἐλαφροὶ, ἀδύ-
 νατοι δέ.
- 15 Λαμβάνειν δὲ τοῦ λαγῶ τὰ ἵχνη ὑπάγοντα
 τὰς κύνας ἐκ τῶν ἕργων ἀνωθεν· ὅσοι δὲ μὴ
 ἔρχονται αὐτῶν εἰς τὰ ἔργασιμα, τοὺς λειμῶνας,
 τὰς νάπας, τὰ ρεῖθρα, τοὺς λίθους, τὰ ὑλώδη·
 καὶ ἐὰν ὑποκινῆ, μὴ ἀναβοᾶν, ἵνα μὴ αἱ κύνες
 ἔκφρονες γιγνόμεναι χαλεπῶς τὰ ἵχνη γνωρίζωσιν.
 16 εὑρισκομένοι δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ διωκόμενοι ἔστιν
 ὅτε διαβαίνουσι τὰ ρεύματα, καὶ ὑποκάμπτονται
 καὶ καταδύονται εἰς φάραγγας καὶ εἰς εἰλυούς·
 πεφόβηνται γὰρ οὐ μόνον τὰς κύνας ἀλλὰ καὶ
 τοὺς ἀετούς· ὑπερβάλλοντες γὰρ τὰ σιμὰ καὶ τὰ
 ψιλὰ ἀναρπάζονται, ἔως ἣν ὡσιν ἔτειοι· τοὺς δὲ
 μείζους ἐπιτρέχουσαι αἱ κύνες ἀναιροῦνται.¹
- 17 Ποδωκέστατοι μὲν οὖν εἰσιν οἱ ὄρειοι, οἱ πεδινοὶ
 δὲ ἥπτοι, βραδύτατοι δὲ οἱ ἐλειοι· οἱ δ' ἐπὶ²
 πάντας τοὺς τόπους πλανῆται χαλεποὶ πρὸς
 τοὺς δρόμους· τὰ γὰρ σύντομα ἴσασι θέουσι γὰρ
 μάλιστα μὲν τὰ ἀνάντη ἢ τὰ ὄμαλά, τὰ δὲ
 ἀγώμαλα³ ἀνομοίως, τὰ δὲ κατάντη ἥκιστα.
- 18 διωκόμενοι δέ εἰσι κατάδηλοι μάλιστα μὲν διὰ

¹ ἀναρπάζονται Richardis; ἀφαιροῦνται S. with the MSS.
² ἀναπατεῖ A. ἀνδρεῖa S. with the rest.

³ Artemis.

they drag the whole body on the ground. Sports. 14 men, however, leave the very young ones to the goddess.¹ Yearlings go very fast in the first run, but then flag, being agile, but weak.

Find the hare's track by beginning with the 15 hounds in the cultivated lands and gradually working downwards². To track those that do not come into cultivated land, search³ the meadows, valleys, streams, stones and woody places. If she moves off, don't shout, or the hounds may get wild with excitement and fail to recognise the tracks. Hares when 16 found by hounds and pursued sometimes cross brooks and double back and slip into gullies or holes. The fact is they are terrified not only of the hounds, but of eagles as well; for they are apt to be snatched up while crossing hillocks and bare ground until⁴ they are yearlings, and the bigger ones are run down and caught by the hounds.

The swiftest are those that frequent mountains; 17 those of the plain are not so speedy; and those of the marshes are the slowest. Those that roam over any sort of country are difficult to chase, since they know the short cuts. They run mostly uphill⁵ or on the level, less frequently in uneven ground, and very seldom downhill. When being pursued they are 18

* The cultivated land is on the lower slopes of the mountains.

* There is evidently a gap in the Greek before τοῦς λειμῶνας, which has nothing to govern it.

* Not "so long as"; cf. § 14.

* i.e. when pursued.

γῆς κεκινημένης, ἐὰν ἔχωσιν ἔπιον ἐρύθημα, καὶ διὰ καλάμης διὰ τὴν ἀνταύγειαν· κατάδηλοι οἱ καὶ ἐν τοῖς τριμμοῖς καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς. ἐὰν ὡσιν ἴσόπεδοι· τὸ γάρ φανὸν τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐνὸν ἀντιλάμπει· ἄδηλοι δέ, ὅταν τοὺς λίθους, τὰ ὄρη, τὰ φέλλια, τὰ δασέα ἀποχωρῶσι, διὰ τὴν ὁμόχροιαν.

19 προλαμβάνοντες δὲ τὰς κύνας ἐφίστανται καὶ ἀνακαθίζοντες ἐπαίρουσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπακούουσιν, εἴ που πλησίον κλαγγὴ ἢ ψόφος τῶν κυνῶν·

20 καὶ ὅθεν ἀν ἀκούσωσιν, ἀποτρέπονται. ὅτε δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἀκούσαντες, ἀλλὰ δόξαντες ἢ πεισθέντες ὑφ' αὐτῶν παρὰ τὰ αὐτά, διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν, ἐπαλλάττοντες ἄλματα, ἐμποιοῦντες ἵχνεσιν ἵχνη,

21 ἀποχωροῦσι. καὶ εἰσὶ μακροδρομώτατοι μὲν οἱ ἐκ τῶν ψιλῶν εύρισκόμενοι διὰ τὸ καταφανές, βραχυδρομώτατοι δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῶν δασέων ἐμποδὼν γάρ τὸ σκοτεινόν.

22 Δύο δὲ καὶ τὰ γένη ἔστιν αὐτῶν· οἱ μὲν γάρ μεγάλοι τὸ χρῶμα ¹ ἐπίπερκνοι καὶ τὸ λευκὸν τὸ ἐν τῷ μετώπῳ μέγα ἔχουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐλάττους

23 ἐπίξανθοι, μικρὸν τὸ λευκὸν ἔχοντες. τὴν δὲ οὐρὰν οἱ μὲν κύκλῳ περιποίκιλον, οἱ δὲ παράσειρον, καὶ τὰ δμματα οἱ μὲν ὑποχάροποι, οἱ δὲ ὑπόγλαυκοι· καὶ τὰ μέλανα τὰ περὶ τὰ ὡτα

24 ἄκρα ² οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ πολύ, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ μικρόν. ἔχουσι δὲ αὐτῶν αἱ πολλαὶ τῶν νήσων τοὺς ἐλάττους, αἱ τὸ ἔρημοι καὶ οἰκούμεναι· τὸ δὲ πλῆθος πλείους

¹ τὸ χρῶμα AB and Pollux: S. omits with M.

² ἄκρα ὅτα S.

ON HUNTING, v. 18-24

most conspicuous across ground that has been broken up, if they have some red in their coats, or across stubble, owing to the shadow they cast. They are also conspicuous in game paths and on roads if these are level, since the bright colour of their coats shows up in the light. But when their line of retreat is amongst stones, in the mountains, over rocky or thickly wooded ground they cannot be seen owing to the similarity of colouring. When they are well 19 ahead of the hounds, they will stop, and sitting up will raise themselves and listen for the baying or the footfall of the hounds anywhere near; and should they hear the sound of them from any quarter, they make off. Occasionally, even when they hear 20 no sound, some fancy or conviction prompts them to jump hither and thither past and through the same objects, mixing the tracks as they retreat. The longest runners are those that are found on 21 bare land, because they are exposed to view; the shortest, those found in thick covers, since the darkness hinders their flight.

There are two species of hare.¹ The large are dark 22 brown, and the white patch on the forehead is large, the smaller are chestnut, with a small white patch. The larger have spots round the scut, the smaller at 23 the side of it. The eyes in the large species are blue, in the small grey. The black at the tip of the ear is broad in the one species, narrow in the other. The smaller are found in most of the islands, both 24 desert and inhabited. They are more plentiful

¹ The common hare and a smaller variety of the same; which is said to be "more brindled in colour" than the larger kind. See "The Hare" in *Fur and Feather Series*, p. 6.

πρὸς ἄρμόν·¹ σύγκειται γὰρ ἐκ τοιούτων τὸ σῶμα.

30 Ἐχει γὰρ κεφαλὴν κούφην, μικράν, καταφερῆ, στενήν ἐκ τοῦ πρόσθεν, ὡτα ὑψηλά, τράχηλον λεπτόν, περιφερῆ, οὐ σκληρόν, μῆκος ἵκανόν, ὥμοπλάτας ὄρθας, ἀσυνδέτους ἄνωθεν, σκέλη τὰ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἐλαφρύ, σύγκωλα, στῆθος οὐ βαρύτονον, πλευρὰς ἐλαφράς, συμμέτρους, ὅσφυν περιφερῆ, κωλῆν σαρκώδη, λαγόνας ὑγράς, λαπαρὰς ἵκανῶς, ἴσχία στρογγύλα, πλήρη κύκλῳ, ἄνωθεν δὲ ὡς χρὴ διεστῶτα, μηροὺς μικρούς,² εὐπαγεῖς, ἔξωθεν μῆν³ ἐπιτεταμένους, ἔνδοθεν δὲ οὐκ ὁγκώδεις, ὑποκώλια μακρά, στιφρά, πόδας τοὺς πρόσθεν ἄκρως ὑγρούς, στενούς, ὄρθούς, τοὺς δὲ ὅπισθεν στερεούς, πλατεῖς, πάντας δὲ οὐδενὸς τραχέος φροντίζοντας, σκέλη τὰ ὅπισθεν μείζω πολὺ τῶν ἐμπροσθεν καὶ ἐγκεκλιμένα μικρὸν ἔξω, τρίχωμα βραχύ, κούφον. ἔστιν οὖν ἀδύνατον μὴ οὐκ εἶναι ἐκ τοιούτων συνηρμοσμένον ἴσχυρόν, ὑγρόν, ὑπερέλαφρον.

Τεκμήριον δὲ ὡς ἐλαφρόν ἔστιν· ὅταν ἀτρέμα διαπορευηται, πηδᾷ, βαδίζοντα δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐώρακεν οὐδ' ὅψεται, τιθεὶς εἰς τὸ ἐπέκεινα τῶν ἐμπροσθεν ποδῶν τοὺς ὅπισθεν καὶ ἔξω, καὶ⁴ θεῖ οὕτως. 32 δῆλον δὲ τοῦτο ἐν χιόνι. οὐρὰν δὲ οὐκ ἐπιτηδείαν ἔχει πρὸς δρόμον· ἐπευθύνειν γὰρ οὐχ ἵκανὴ τὸ σῶμα διὰ τὴν βραχύτητα· ἀλλὰ τῷ ὧτὶ ἐκατέρῳ τοῦτο ποιεῖ, καὶ ὅταν ἀνιστῆται⁵ ὑπὸ τῶν κυνῶν,

¹ ἄρμόν ABM: δρόμον S. with inferior MSS.

² μικρούς Pierleoni: μακρούς S.

³ μῆν, MSS.: μήρ S.

⁴ καὶ MSS.: S omits with Schneider.

For the various parts that make up her body are formed as follows

The head is light, small, drooping, narrow at the front, the ears are upright,¹ the neck is thin, round, not stiff, and surely long, the shoulder-blades are straight and free at the top, the fore-legs are agile and close together, the chest is not broad, the ribs are light and symmetrical, the loins are circular, the rump is fleshy; the shanks are soft and surely spongy, the hips are round, well filled out, and the right distance apart at the top, the thighs are small and firm, muscular on the outside and not puffy on the inside, the shanks are long and firm, the fore feet are extremely pliant and narrow and straight and the hind feet hard and broad; and all four are indifferent to rough ground, the hind-legs are much longer than the fore-legs, and slightly bent outwards, the coat is short and light. With such a frame she cannot fail to be strong, pliant and very agile

Here is a proof of her agility. When going quietly, she springs—no one ever saw or ever will see a hare walking—bringing the hind feet forward in advance of the fore feet and outside them, and that is how she runs. This is obvious when snow is on the ground. The scut is of no assistance in running, for it is not able to steer the body owing to its shortness. The hare does this by means of one of her ears, and when she is roused by the hounds she

¹ “The ears are upright” is not in the MSS., and is inserted from Pollux. As our author is enumerating those characteristics of the hare that make for speed it is not quite certain that the words are his, but see § 33.

καταβάλλων καὶ¹ παραβάλλων τὸ ἔτερον οὓς
πλάγιον, ὅποτέρᾳ ἀν λυπῆται, ἀπερειδόμενος
δὴ εἰς τοῦτο ὑποστρέφεται ταχύ, ἐν μικρῷ πολὺ³³
καταλιπὼν τὸ ἐπιφερόμενον. οὗτῳ δὲ ἐπίχαρι
ἔστι τὸ θέαμα,² ὥστε οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐκ ἀν ίδων
ἰχνευόμενον, εύρισκόμενον, μεταθεόμενον, ἀλισκό-
μενον ἐπιλάθοιτ’ ἀν εἴ του ἐρώη.

³⁴ Ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις κυνηγετοῦντα ἀπέχεσθαι
ῶν ὡραι φέρουσι καὶ τὰ νάματα καὶ τὰ ρεῖθρα
ἔαν. τὸ γὰρ ἄπτεσθαι τούτων αἰσχρὸν καὶ
κακόν, καὶ ἵνα μὴ τῷ νόμῳ ἐναντίοις ὥστιν οἱ
ἰδόντες. καὶ ὅταν ἀναγρία ἐμπίπτῃ, ἀγαλάνειν
χρὴ τὰ περὶ κυνηγέσιον πάντα.

VI. Κυνῶν δὲ κόσμος δέραια, ιμάντες, στελμο-
νίαι· ἔστω δὲ τὰ μὲν δέραια μαλακά, πλατέα,
ἵνα μὴ θραύη τὰς τρίχας τῶν κυνῶν, οἱ δὲ ιμάντες
ἔχοντες ἀγκύλας τῇ χειρὶ, ἄλλο δὲ μηδέν· οὐ
γὰρ καλῶς τηροῦσι τὰς κύνας οἱ ἔξ αὐτῶν
εἰργασμένοι τὰ δέραια· αἱ δὲ στελμονίαι πλατεῖς
τοὺς ιμάντας, ἵνα μὴ τρίβωσι τὰς λαγόνας αὐτῶν.
ἐγκατερραμμέναι δὲ ἐγκεντρίδες, ἵνα τὰ γένη
φυλάττωσιν.

² Ἐξάγειν δὲ αὐτὰς οὐ χρὴ ἐπὶ τὰ κυνηγέσια,
ὅταν μὴ τὰ προσφερόμενα δέχωνται ηδέως
τεκμήριον δὲ τοῦτο, ὅτι οὐκ ἔρρωνται· μηδὲ ὅταν
ἄνεμος πνέῃ μέγας. διαρπάζει γὰρ τὰ ἰχνη καὶ
οὐ δύναται ὀσφραίνεσθαι οὐδὲ αἱ ὕρκις ἐστάναι
³ οὐδὲ τὰ δίκτυα ὅταν δὲ τούτων μηδέτερον
κωλύῃ, ἀγειν διὰ τρίτης ημέρας. τὰς δὲ ἀλώ-

¹ *καὶ Dindorf: γὰρ καὶ ή with the MSq*

² *ἥλιμα Λεττικόν, Ηερμός εἶναι: θηρίον S. with the MSq.*

drops one ear on the side on which she is being pressed and throws it aslant, and then bearing on this she wheels round sharply and in a moment leaves the assailant far behind 33
So charming is the sight that to see a hare tracked, found, pursued and caught is enough to make any man forget his heart's desire

When hunting on cultivated land avoid growing 34 crops and let pools and streams alone It is unseemly and wrong to interfere with them, and there is a risk of encouraging those who see to set themselves against the law¹ On days on which there is no hunting,² all hunting tackle should be removed

VI The trappings of hounds are collars, leashes, and surcingles The collars should be soft and broad, so as not to chafe the hounds' coat. The leashes should have a noose for the hand, and nothing else, for if the collar is made in one piece with the leash, perfect control of the hounds is impossible The straps of the surcingles should be broad, so as not to rub the flanks, and they should have little spurs sewed on to them, to keep the breed pure

Hounds should not be taken out hunting when off their feed, since this is a proof that they are ailing, nor when a strong wind is blowing since it scatters the scent and they cannot smell, and the purse nets will not stand in position, nor the haves But when 3 neither of these hindrances prevents, have the hounds out every other day Do not let them

¹ Both text and meaning are doubtful here. By 'the law' is probably meant the law (or custom) that a. well hunters to hunt over growing crops. See c. xii 5.

² I.e. during festivals.

πεκας μὴ ἔθιζεν τὰς κύνας διώκειν· διαφθορά
γὰρ μεγίστη καὶ ἐν τῷ δέοντι οὐποτε πάρεστιν.
4 εἰς δὲ τὰ κυνηγέσια μεταβάλλοντα ἄγειν, ἵνα
ῶσιν ἔμπειροι τῶν κυνηγεσίων, αὐτὸς¹ δὲ τῆς
χώρας. ἔξιέναι δὲ πρωΐ, ἵνα τῆς ἰχνεύσεως μὴ
ἀποστερῶνται, ώς οἱ ὄψιζόμενοι ἀφαιροῦνται τὰς
μὲν κύνας τοῦ εύρεν τὸν λαγῶ, αὐτοὺς δὲ τῆς
ὤφελείας· οὐ γὰρ ἐπιμένει τοῦ ἰχνους ἡ φύσις
λεπτὴ οὖσα πᾶσαν ὥραν.

5 Τὴν δὲ στολὴν ὁ ἀρκυωρὸς ἔξιτω ἔχων ἐπὶ
θήραν μὴ ἔχουσαν βάρος. τὰς δὲ ἄρκυς ἴστάτω
εἰς ὅδοὺς ἀμφιδρόμους,² τραχείας, σιμάς, λαγαράς,
σκοτεινάς, ροῦς, χαράδρας, χειμάρρους ἀενάους.
εἰς ταῦτα γὰρ μᾶλιστα φευγεῖ· εἰς δοσα δὲ ἄλλα
6 ἄπειρον εἰπεῖν· τούτων δὲ παρόδους, διόδους,
καταφανεῖς, λεπτάς,³ εἰς ὄρθρον καὶ μὴ πρωΐ,
ἵνα ἐὰν ἡ πλησίον τὸ ἀρκυστάσιον τῶν ζητησίμων,
μὴ φοβήται ἀκούων ὁμοῦ τὸν ψόφον (ἐὰν δὲ ἡ
ἀπ' ἄλλήλων πολύ, ἡττον κωλύει πρωΐ) καθαρὰς
7 ποιούμενος⁴ τὰς ἀρκυστασίας, ἵνα αὐτῶν μηδὲν
ἀντέχηται. πηγυνεῖν δὲ τὰς σχαλίδας ὑπτίας,
ὅπως ἀν ἐπαγόμεναι ἔχωσι τὸ σύντονον· ἐπὶ δὲ
ἄκρας ἰσous τοὺς βρόχους ἐπιβαλλέτω καὶ ὁμοίως

¹ αὐτὸς Weiske: αὐτοί S. with the MSS.

² A has εἰς ἀμφιδρόμους, the rest ἀμφιδρόμους only: S reads
ἀμφὶ δρόμους, δόους τραχείας. Probably some substantive has
dropped out of the MSS., but δόους is unlikely. Perhaps
εἰς ἀμφιδρόμας should be read; δόους is not in the MSS.

³ A word to govern these accusatives must have been lost.

⁴ ποιούμενος S.

¹ This portentous sentence is a literal presentation of the
Greek text, which, however, is rather uncertain. If the

take to pursuing foxes, for it is utter ruin, and they are never at hand when wanted. Vary the hunting ground frequently, so that the hounds may be familiar with the hunting grounds and the master with the country. Start early, and so give the hounds a fair chance of following the scent. A late start robs the hounds of the find and the hunters of the prize, for the scent is by its nature too thin to last all day.

Let the net-keeper wear light clothing when he goes hunting. Let him set up the purse nets in winding, rough, steep, narrow, shady paths, brooks, ravines, running watercourses (these are the places in which the hare is most apt to take refuge a list of all the others would be endless), leaving unobstructed and narrow passages to and through these places, just about daybreak, and not too early, so that in case the line of nets be near the growth to be searched, the hare may not be frightened by hearing the noise close by (if the distance is considerable, it matters less if the nets stand clear so that the them¹

He must fix the when 7
pulled they may stand the strun. On the tops of them let him put an equal number of meshes,² and

nets are fixed near the covert before daybreak, the hare is likely to stir at the noise. After daybreak she will not stir.

² sloping towards the side from which the hare will come. The nets, of course, hang on the other side of the stakes.

³ If *levos* means 'equal in number' more than one mesh is to be put in the groove of each stake so that at the top of the row of nets will be puckered. Perhaps, however, "level in height" is the sense.

ἀντερειδέτω, ἐπαίρων εἰς μέσον τὸν κεκρύφαλον.
 8 εἰς δὲ τὸν περίδρομον ἐναπτέτω λίθον μακρὸν
 καὶ μέγαν, ἵνα τῇ ἄρκυς, ὅταν ἔχῃ τὸν λαγῶ, μὴ
 ἀντιτείνῃ· στοιχιζέτω δὲ μακρά, ὑψηλά, ὅπως ἂν
 μὴ ὑτερπηδᾷ.

Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἴχνείαις μὴ ὑπερβάλλεσθαι· ἔστι
 γὰρ θηρατικὸν μεν οὐ,¹ φιλόπονον δὲ τὸ ἐκ παντὸς
 τρόπου ἐλεῖν ταχύ.

9 Τὰ δὲ δίκτυα τεινέτω ἐν ἀπέδοις, ἐμβαλλέτω
 δὲ τὰ ἐνόδια εἰς τὰς ὁδοὺς καὶ ἐκ τῶν τριμμῶν
 εἰς τὰ συμφέροντα, καθάπτων τοὺς περιδρόμους
 ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, τὰ ἀκρωλένια συνάγων, πηγυσών
 τὰς σχαλίδας μεταξὺ τῶν σαρδόνων, ἐπὶ δὲ ἄκρας
 ἐπιβόλλων τοὺς ἐπιδρόμους καὶ τὰ² παρύδρομα
 10 συμφράττων. φυλαττέτω δὲ ἐκπεριιών· ἐὰν δὲ
 ἐκκλίνῃ τὸν στοῖχον ἡ³ ἄρκυς, ἀνιστάτω. διωκο-
 μένου δὲ τοῦ⁴ λαγῶ εἰς τὰς ἄρκυς εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν
 προΐέσθω καὶ ἐπιθέων μὲν ἐκβοάτω ἐμπεπτω-
 κότος δὲ τὴν ὄργὴν τῶν κυνῶν παυέτω, μὴ ἀπτό-
 μενος ἀλλὰ παραμυθούμενος καὶ δηλούτω τῷ
 κυνηγέτῃ, ὅτι ἐᾶλωκεν ἀναβοήσας ἢ ὅτι παρ-
 δεδραμικε παρὰ τάδε ἢ τάδε ἢ ὅτι οὐχ ἐώρακεν
 ἢ οὐ κατεῖδε

¹ οὐ A: S. omits with the rest.

² S omits τὰ with BM

³ A has τὸν στοῖχον ἡ BM στοῖχος ἡ: S reads στοῖχος ἡ.

⁴ διωκόμενον δὲ τὸν S with BM.

head.

¹ See c. ii §4 The stone serves as an anchor when the net falls off the stakes.

ON HUNTING, vi. 7-10

set the prop¹s uniformly, raising the purse towards the centre. To the cord² let him attach a long, big & stone, so that the net may not pull away when the hare is inside. Let him make his line long and high,³ so that the hare may not jump over.

When it comes to tracking the hare, he must not be too zealous. To do everything possible to effect a quick capture shows perseverance, but is not hunting.⁴

Let him stretch the hares on level ground and put the road-nets⁵ in roads and from game tracks into the adjacent ground, fastening down the (lower) cords to the ground, joining the elbows, fixing the stakes between the selvedges,⁶ putting the ends on the top of the stakes and stopping the by-ways. Let him mount guard, going round the nets. 10 If a purse-net is pulling its stake out of line, let him put it up. When the hare is being chased into the purse-nets he must run forward and shout as he runs after her. When she is in, he must calm the excitement of the hounds, soothing without touching them. He must also shout to the huntsman and let him know that the hare is caught, or that she has run past on this or that side, or that he has not seen her, or where he caught sight of her.

¹ The stakes must not be too deep in the ground, or the nets will not be high enough.

² These cannot be read like an afterthought.

³ The hares and purse nets seem to be connected in the same series; but the road-nets seem to be independent screens.

⁴ We are to think of a series of nets joined together. These stakes will be inserted in the top and bottom line of meshes. The selvage runs along the top and bottom of the net.

XENOPHON

- 11 Τὸν δὲ κυνηγέτην ἔχοντα ἔξιέναι ἡμελημένην
 ἐλαφρὰν ἐσθῆτα ἐπὶ τὸ κυνηγέσιον καὶ ὑπόδεσιν,
 ἐν δὲ τῇ χειρὶ ρόπαλον, τὸν δὲ ἀρκυωρὸν ἐπεσθαι·
 πρὸς δὲ τὸ κυνηγέσιον σιγῇ προσιέναι, ἵνα μὴ ὁ
 λαγῶς, ἐάν που ἢ πλησίον, ὑποκινῆ ἀκούων τῆς
- 12 φωνῆς. δήσαντα δ' ἐκ τῆς ὕλης τὰς κύνας
 ἐκάστην χωρίς, ὅπως ἀν εῦλυτοι ὥσιν, ἴσταναι
 τὰς ἄρκυς καὶ τὰ δίκτυα, ὡς εἴρηται. μετὰ δὲ
 τοῦτο τὸν μὲν ἀρκυωρὸν εἶναι ἐν φυλακῇ· αὐτὸν
 δὲ τὰς κύνας λαβόντα ἔναι πρὸς τὴν ὑπαγωγὴν
- 13 τοῦ κυνηγεσίου. καὶ εὐξάμενον τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι
 καὶ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι τῇ Ἀγροτέρᾳ μεταδοῦναι τῆς
 θήρας λῦσαι μίαν κύνα, ἥτις ἀν ἢ σοφωτάτῃ
 ἵχνεύειν, ἐὰν μὲν ἢ χειμῶν, ἅμ' ἡλίῳ ἀνέχοντι,
 ἐὰν δὲ θέρος, πρὸ ἡμέρας, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ὥρας
- 14 μεταξὺ τούτων. ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἡ κύων λάβῃ τὸ
 ἵχνος ὄρθὸν ἐκ τῶν ἐπηλλαγμένων, παραλῦσαι καὶ
 ἐτέραν· περαινομένον δὲ τοῦ ἵχνους διαλιπόντα
 μὴ πολὺ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀφιέναι κατὰ μίαν καὶ
 ἐπεσθαι μὴ ἐγκείμενον, ὄνομαστὶ ἐκάστην προσ-
 αγορεύοντα, μὴ πολλά, ἵνα μὴ παροξύνωνται
- 15 πρὸ τοῦ καιροῦ. αἱ δὲ ὑπὸ χαρᾶς καὶ μένους
 προῖασιν ἔξιλλουσαι τὰ ἵχνη, ὡς πέφυκε, διπλᾶ,
 τριπλᾶ, προφορούμεναι παρὰ τὰ αὐτά, διὰ τῶν
 αὐτῶν, ἐπηλλαγμένα, περιφερῆ, ὄρθά, καμπύλα,
 πυκνά, μανά, γνώριμα, ἄγνωστα, ἐαντὰς παρα-
 θέουσαι, ταχὺ ταῖς οὐραῖς διασείουσαι καὶ ἐπικλί-
 νουσαι τὰ ὥτα καὶ ἀστράπτουσαι τοῖς ὅμμασιν.
- 16 ἐπειδὰν δὲ περὶ τὸν λαγῶ ὥσι, δῆλον ποιήσουσι

Let the huntsman go out to the hunting ground 11
 in a simple light dress and shoes, carrying a cudgel
 in his hand, and let the net keeper follow. Let
 them keep silence while approaching the ground,
 so that, in case the hare is near, she may not move
 off on hearing voices. Having tied the hounds 12
 separately to the trees so that they can easily be
 slipped, let him set up the purse-nets and hayes¹
 in the manner described. After this let the net-
 keeper keep guard, and let the huntsman take
 the hounds and go to the place in the hunting
 ground where the hare may be lurking, and after 13
 registering a vow to Apollo and Artemis the Huntress
 to give them a share of the spoil, let him loose one
 hound, the cleverest at following a track, at sun-
 rise in winter, before dawn in summer, and some
 time between at other seasons. As soon as the 14
 hound picks up a line from the network of tracks
 that leads straight ahead, let him slip another. If
 the track goes on, let him set the others going one by
 one at short intervals, and follow without pressing
 them, accosting each by name, but not often, that
 they may not get excited too soon. They will go 15
 forward full of joy and ardour, disentangling the
 various tracks, double or triple—springing forward
 now beside, now across the same ones—tracks inter-
 laced or circular, straight or crooked, close or scattered,
 clear or obscure, running past one another with tails
 wagging, ears dropped and eyes flashing. As soon 16
 as they are near the hare they will let the huntsman

¹ Neither here nor in § 26 is there any reference to the
 road nets. It is impossible to suggest a reason for this, and
 perhaps the necessary words have dropped out in both cases,
 as might easily happen.

τῷ κυνηγέτῃ σὺν ταῖς οὐραῖς τὰ σώματα δλα
συνετικραδαίνουσαι, τολεμικῶς ἐτιφερόμεναι,
φιλονίκως ταραθέουσαι, συντρέχουσαι φιλο-
τόιως, συνιστάμειαι ταχύ, διστάμειαι, τάλιπ
ἐπιφερόμεναι· τελευτῶσαι δὲ ἀφίξοιται πρὸς
τὴν εὐνήν τοῦ λαγῶ καὶ ἐτιδραμοῦνται ἐπ' αὐτόν.

17 ὁ δὲ ἔξαίφιης ἀνάξιος ἐφ' αὐτὸν ὑλαγυμὸν ποιήσει
τῶν κυνῶν καὶ κλαγγῆι φεύγων. ἐμβοάτω¹ δὲ
αὐτῷ διωκομένῳ, ἵω κύνει, ἵω καλῶς,² σοφῶς³
γε ὡ κύνει, καλῶς γε ὡ κύνει. καὶ κυνοδρομεῖν
περιελίξαντα ὁ ἀμπέχεται περὶ τὴν χεῖρα καὶ
τὸ ρόπαλον ἀναλαβόντα κατὰ τὸν λαγῶ καὶ μὴ

18 ὑπαντᾶν ἄπορον γάρ. ὁ δὲ ὑτοχωρῶν ταχὺ⁴
ἐκλείπων τὴν δψιν πάλιν περιβάλλει δθεν εύρι-
σκεται ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ ἀναβοᾶν δὲ ἐκεῖνον μὲν
αὐτῷ, παισάτω παῖς⁵ παῖε δή, παῖε δή.⁶ ὁ δέ,
ἔαν τε ἔαλωκὼς ἢ ἔάν τε μή, δηλούτω.

Καὶ ἔαν μὲν ἔαλωκὼς ἢ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ δρόμῳ,
ἀνακαλεσάμενον τὰς κύνας ξητεῖν ἄλλον· ἔαν δὲ
μή, κυνοδρομεῖν ὡς τάχιστα καὶ μὴ ἀνιέναι,⁷ ἄλλ'
19 ἐκπερᾶν φιλοπόνως καὶ ἔαν πάλιν ἀπαντῶσι
διώκουσαι αὐτόν, ἀναβοᾶν, εὖ γε εὖ γε ὡ κύνει,
ἐπεσθε ὡ κύνεις. ἔαν δὲ πολὺ προειληφυῖαι ὥσι
καὶ μὴ οἶός τ' ἢ κυνοδρομῶν ἐπιγίγνεσθαι αὐταῖς,
ἄλλὰ διημαρτηκὼς ἢ τῶν δρόμων ἢ καὶ πλησίον

¹ ἐμβοάτω A. ἐμβοῶνταν S with BM

² ἵω καλῶς Falbe ἵω κακὸς BM, whence ἵω κακῶς S A omits

³ σοφῶς, Gesner. σαφῶς S with the MSS

⁴ S gives ἐκεῖνον μέν, αὐτῷ παῖς, αὐτῷ παῖς The text follows A.

⁵ If παῖ δή, παῖ δή (BM) is right, παῖ is an imperative of παῖω, not vocative of παῖς

know by the quivering of the whole body as well as the tail, by making fierce rushes, by racing past one another, by scampering along together persistently, passing quickly, breaking up and again rushing forward. At length they will reach the hare's form and will go for her. She will start up suddenly, 17 and will leave the hounds barking and baying behind her as she makes off. Let the huntsman shout at her as she runs, "Now, hounds, now! Well done! Bravo, hounds! Well done, hounds!" Wrapping his cloak round his arm and seizing his cudgel he must follow up behind the hare and not try to head her off, since that is useless. The hare, making off, 18 though out of sight, generally doubles back to the place where she is found. Let him call out¹ to the man, "Hit her, boy, hit her, hit her!" and the man must let him know whether she is caught or not.

If she is caught in the first run, let him call in the hounds and look for another. But if not, he must follow up at top speed and not let her go, but stick to it persistently. If the hounds come on 19 her again in the pursuit, let him cry, "Good, good, hounds, after her, hounds!" If they have got so far ahead of him that he cannot overtake them by following up and is quite out of the running, or if he

¹ i.e. at the moment when the hare, making for the place where she was found, comes near the nets. Something is amiss with the text here. The 'man' is, of course, the net keeper. He, too, has a cudgel, but the author has not said so.

* αὐτίρας A ἀφιέρας S with BM

που φοιτώσας¹ ή ἔχομένας τῶν ἵχνων μὴ δύνηται
ἰδεῖν, πυνθάνεσθαι παραθέοντα ἀμα ὅτῳ ἀν προσ-
πελάξῃ ἀναβοῶντα, η κατεῖδες ὡὴ τὰς κύνας;
20 ἐπειδὰν δὲ πύθηται ηδη, ἐὰν μὲν ἐν τῷ ἵχνει ὥσι,
προσστάντα ἐγκελεύειν, τοῦτο μεταβάλλοντα
ἔκαστης τῆς κυνός, ὅποσαχῇ οἶόν τ' ἀν η τοὺς
τόνους τῆς φωνῆς ποιούμενον, ὁξύ, βαρύ, μικρόν,
μέγα· πρὸς δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις κελεύμασιν, ἐὰν ὥσιν
ἐν ὅρει αἱ μεταδρομαί, ἐπικελεύειν τόδε, εὖα²
κύνες, εὖα ὡ κύνες. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ πρὸς αὐτοῖς
ώσι τοῖς ἵχνεσιν, ἀλλ' ὑπερβάλλωσι, καλεῖν
21 αὐτάς, οὐ πάλιν οὐ πάλιν ὡ κύνες; ἐπειδὰν δὲ
προσστῶσι τοῖς ἵχνεσι, περιάγειν αὐτὰς κύκλους
πολλοὺς³ ποιούμενον· ὅπου δ' ἀν η αὐταῖς ἀμαυρὸν
τὸ ἵχνος, σημεῖον θέσθαι στοῖχον ἑαυτῷ καὶ ἀπὸ
τούτου συνείρειν, μέχρι ἀν σαφῶς γνωρίσωσιν,
22 ἐγκελεύοντα καὶ θωπεύοντα. αἱ δ' ἐπειδὰν λαμπρὰ
η τὰ ἵχνη, ἐπιρριπτοῦσαι, παραπηδῶσαι, κοινω-
νοῦσαι, ὑπολαμβάνουσαι, ἐνσημανόμεναι, ὅρους
τιθέμεναι ἑαυταῖς γνωρίμους ταχὺ μεταθεύσονται·
ὅταν δὲ οὕτως διὰ τοῦ ἵχνους πυκνῶς διάττωσι,
μη κατέχοντα κυνοδρομεῖν, ἵνα μὴ ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας
ὑπερβάλλωσι τὰ ἵχνη.
23 Ἐπειδὰν δὲ περὶ τὸν λαγῶ ὥσι καὶ τοῦτο
ἐπιδεικνύωνται σαφῶς τῷ κυνηγέτῃ, προσέχειν,
ὅπως ἀν μὴ ὑποκινή εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν πεφοβημένος
τὰς κύνας, αἱ δὲ διαρριπτοῦσαι τὰς οὐρὰς καὶ

¹ I have omitted η ἐπιβοῶσας hero with Schneider.

² εὖα twice Gesner: εὖ twice S with the MSS

³ πολλοὺς A: πολλοὺς πυκνοὺς BM: πολλοὺς καὶ πυκνοὺς S with Stephanus.

cannot see them though they are moving about somewhere near or sticking to the tracks, let him find out by shouting as he runs past to anyone near, "Hullo! have you seen the hounds?" As soon 20 as he has found out, let him stand near if they are on the track, and cheer them on, running through the hounds names, using all the variations of tone he can produce, pitching his voice high and low, soft and loud Amongst other calls, if the chase is in the mountains, let him sing out, "Oho, hounds, oho!"¹ If they are not clinging to the track, but are over running, let him call them in with, "Back, hounds, back with you!" As soon 21 as they are close on the tracks, let him cast them round,² making many circles, and wherever they find the track dim, let him stick a pole in the ground as a mark, and beginning from this mark keep them together until they clearly recognise the trick, encouraging and coaxing them As soon as the track 22 is clear they will be off in hot pursuit hurling themselves on it, jumping beside it, working together, guessing, signalling to one another and setting bounds for one another that they can recognise When they are thus scurrying in a bunch along the track, let him follow up without pressing them, or they may over run the line through excess of zeal

As soon as they are near the hare and give the 23 huntsman clear evidence of the fact, let him take care, or in her terror of the hounds she will slip away and be off The hounds, wagging their tails, colliding and

¹ Imitating the call of the Bacchic revellers, 'the Houn is of Madness,' on Mount Cithaeron.

² Nowadays hounds are left to make their own cast and are only assisted when they fail to recover the line

- έαυταις ἐμπίπτουσαι καὶ πολλὰ ὑπερπηδῶσαι καὶ
ἐπανακλαγγάνουσαι, ἐπαγαίρουσαι τὰς κεφαλάς,
εἰσβλέπουσαι εἰς τὸν κυνηγέτην, ἐπιγνωρίζουσαι
ἀληθῆ εἴραι ἥδη ταῦτα, ὑφ' αὐτῶν ἀναστήσουσι
24 τὸν λαγῶν καὶ ἐπίασι κεκλαγγυῖαι. ἐὰν δὲ εἰς
τὰς ἄρκυς ἐμπίπτῃ ἡ ἔξω ἡ ἐντὸς παρενεχθῆ,
καθ' ἐν ἔκαστον τούτων ὁ ἄρκυωρὸς γεγωνείτω. καὶ
ἐὰν μὲν ἡ ἑαλωκώς, ἔτερον ἐπιζητεῖν· ἐὰν δὲ μή,
μεταθεῖν χρώμενον τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐγκελεύμασιν.
- 25 Ἐπειδὰν δὲ μεταθέουσαι αἱ κύνες ἥδη ὑπόκοποι
ῶσι καὶ ἡ ὄψὲ ἥδη τῆς ἡμέρας, τότε δεῖ τὸν
κυνηγέτην τὸν λαγῶν ἀπειρηκότα ζητεῖν, μὴ
παραλείποντα μηδὲν ὡν ἡ γῆ ἀνίησιν ἡ ἔχει
ἔφ' ἑαυτῆς, τὰς ἀναστροφὰς ποιούμενον πυκνᾶς,
ὅπως ἀν μὴ παραλειφθῆ· κατακλίνεται γὰρ ἐν
μικρῷ τὸ θηρίον καὶ οὐκ ἀνίσταται ὑπὸ κόπου
καὶ φόβου· τὰς κύνας ἐπαγόμενον, ἐγκελεύοντα,
παραμυθούμενον τὴν φιλάνθρωπον πολλά, τὴν
αὐθάδη δλίγα, τὴν μέσην μέτρια, ἕως ἀν ἡ
ἀποκτείνη αὐτὸν κατὰ πόδας ἡ εἰς τὰς ἄρκυς
ἐμβάλῃ.
- 26 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀνελόντα τὰς ἄρκυς καὶ τὰ
δίκτυα ἀνατρίψαντα τὰς κύνας ἀπιέναι ἐκ τοῦ
κυνηγεσίου, ἐπιμείναντα, ἐὰν ἡ θερινὴ μεσημβρία,
ὅπως ἀν τῶν κυνῶν οἱ πόδες μὴ καίωνται ἐν τῇ
πορείᾳ.

VII. Σκυλακεύειν δὲ αὐτὰς ἐπανιέντα τῶν
πόνων τοῦ χειμῶνος, ἵνα ἔχουσαι τὴν ἡσυχίαν
πρὸς τὸ ἕαρ ἐπάγωνται τὴν φύσιν γενναίαν· ἡ
γὰρ ὥρα πρὸς τὰς αὐξήσεις τῶν κυρῶν κρατίστη
αὗτη· εἰσὶ δὲ τετταρεσκαίδεκα ἡμέραι, ἐν αἷς ἡ
2 ἀνάγκη αὗτη ἔχει. ἄγειν δὲ καταπαυομένας, ἵνα

frequently jumping over one another, and baying loudly, with heads uplifted and glances at the huntsman, showing him plainly that they have the real thing now, will rouse the hare for themselves and go for her, giving tongue. If she plunges into the purse-nets 24 or bolts past them on the inside or outside, the net-keeper must in each event make it known by shouting. If she is caught, look for another; if not, continue the pursuit, using the same methods of encouragement.

As soon as the hounds are getting tired of pursuing 25 and the day is far advanced, it is time for the huntsman to search for the hare, worn out as she is, passing over nothing growing or lying on the ground, retracing his steps continually for fear of an oversight—since the animal rests in a small space and is too tired and frightened to get up,—bringing the hounds along, encouraging and exhorting the gentle frequently, the wilful sparingly, the average sort in moderation, until he kills her in a fair run or drives her into the purse-nets.

After this take up the purse-nets and¹ hayes, rub 26 down the hounds and leave the hunting-ground, after waiting, if it be an afternoon in summer, in order that the hounds' feet may not be overheated on the road.

VII. For breeding purposes, relieve the bitches of work in the winter, that the rest may help them to produce a fine litter towards spring, which is the best growing season for hounds. They are in heat for fourteen days. Mate them with good dogs near 2 the end of the period, that they may the sooner

¹ Where are the road nets?

έαυταις ἐμπίπτουσαι καὶ πολλὰ ὑπερπηδῶσαι καὶ
ἐπανακλαγγάνουσαι, ἐπαναίρουσαι τὰς κεφαλάς,
εἰσβλέπουσαι εἰς τὸν κυνηγέτην, ἐπιγνωρίζουσαι
ἀληθῆ εἶναι ἡδη ταῦτα, ύφ' αὐτῶν ἀναστήσουσι

24 τὸν λαγῶ καὶ ἐπίασι κεκλαγγυῖαι. ἐὰν δὲ εἰς
τὰς ἄρκυς ἐμπίπτῃ ἡ ἔξω ἡ ἐντὸς παρενεχθῆ,
καθ' ἐν ἕκαστον τούτων ὁ ἄρκυωρὸς γεγωνείτω. καὶ
ἐὰν μὲν ἡ ἑαλωκώς, ἔτερον ἐπιζητεῖν· ἐὰν δὲ μή,
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ῶσι καὶ ἡ ὁψὲ ἡδη τῆς ἡμέρας, τότε δεῖ τὸν
κυνηγέτην τὸν λαγῶ ἀπειρηκότα ζητεῖν, μὴ
παραλείποντα μηδὲν ὥν ἡ γῆ ἀνίησιν ἡ ἔχει
ἔφ' ἑαυτῆς, τὰς ἀναστροφὰς ποιούμενον πυκνάς,
ὅπως ἀν μὴ παραλειφθῆ κατακλίνεται γάρ ἐν
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¹ Where are the road nets?

- θάττον ἐγκύμονες γίγνωνται, πρὸς κύνας ἀγαθούς·
 ἐπειδὰν δὲ ὡσιν ἐπίφοροι, μὴ ἔξαγειν ἐπὶ κυνηγέ-
 σιον ἐνδελεχῶς, ἀλλὰ διαλείπειν, ἵνα μὴ φιλο-
 3 πονία διαφθείρωσι. κυνῦσι δ'¹ ἔξικονθ' ἡμέρας.
 ἐπειδὰν δὲ γένηται τὰ σκυλάκια, ὑπὸ τῷ τεκούσῃ
 ἔαν καὶ μὴ ὑποβάλλειν ὑφ' ἑτέραν κύνα· αἱ γὰρ
 θεραπεῖαι αἱ ἀλλότριαι οὐκ εἰσὶν αὐξεμοι· τὸ δὲ
 τῶν μητέρων καὶ τὸ γάλα ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα
 4 καὶ αἱ περιβολαὶ φίλαι. ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἥδη πλα-
 νᾶται τὰ σκυλάκια, διδόναι γάλα μέχρι ἐνιαυτοῦ
 καὶ αἱς μέλλει τὸν ἀπαντα χρόνον βιώσεσθαι,
 ἄλλο δὲ μηδέν· αἱ γὰρ βαρεῖαι πλησμοναὶ
 τῶν σκυλακίων διαστρέφουσι τὰ² σκέλη, τοῖς³
 σώμασι νόσους ἐμποιοῦσι, καὶ τὰ ἐντὸς ἄδικα
 γίγνεται.
- 5 Τὰ δ' ὀνόματα αὗταῖς τίθεσθαι Βραχέα, ἵνα
 εὐανάκλητα ἦ. εἶναι δὲ χρὴ τοιάδε, Ψυχή,
 Θυμός, Πόρπαξ, Στύραξ, Λόγχη, Λόχος, Φρουρά,
 Φύλαξ, Τάξις, Ξίφων, Φόραξ, Φλέγων, Ἀλκή,
 Τεύχων, Οργή,
 Βρέμων, Ήβα,
 Γηθεύς, Βία,
 Στίχων, Σπουδή, Βρύας, Οἰνάς, Στερρός, Κραύγη,
 Καίνων, Τύρβας, Σθένων, Αἴθηρ, Ἀκτίς, Αἰχμή,
 Νόης, Γνώμη, Στίβων, Ορμή.
- 6 Ἄγειν δὲ τὰς σκύλακας ἐπὶ τὸ κυνηγέσιον
 τὰς μὲν θηλείας ὀκταμήνους, τοὺς δὲ ἄρρενας
 δεκαμήνους· πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἵχνη τὰ εὐναῖα μὴ λύειν,

¹ κυνῦσι δ AB: κυνῦσιν S. with M.

² τὰ A: S omits with BM.

³ τοῖς added from Attian: S omits.

become pregnant When they are near their time do not take them out hunting continually, but only now and then, or love of work may result in a miscarriage The period of gestation is sixty days After the birth of the puppies leave them with the mother and do not place them under another bitch, for nursing by a foster mother does not promote growth, whereas the mother's milk and breath do them good, and they like her caresses As soon as the puppies can get about, give them milk for a year, and the food that will form their regular diet, and nothing else For heavy feeding warps the puppies' legs and sows the seeds of disease in the system, and their insides go wrong

Give the hounds short names, so as to be able to call to them easily The following are the right sort Psyche, Thymus, Porpax, Styrax, Lonché, Lochus, Phrura, Phylax, Taxis, Xiphon, Phonax, Phlegon, Alcé, Teuchon, Hyleus, Medas, Porthon, Sperchon, Orgé, Bremon, Hybris, Thallon, Rhomé, Antheus, Hebe, Getheus, Chara, Leusson, Augo, Polys, Bir, Stichon, Spude, Bryas, Oenas, Sterrus, Craugé, Caenon, Tyrbas, Sthenon, Aether, Actis, Aechmé, Noes, Gnomé, Stibon, Hormé¹

Take the bitches to the hunting ground at eight months, the dogs at ten Do not slip them on the

— * * * colour, strength, spirit,
Hebe and Psyche are
and modern equivalents
of several of the other names are in use, e.g. Lance
(Lonché) Sentinel (Phylax), Festasy (Chara), Blue-skin
(Oenas) Crafty (Medas) Hasty (Sperchon), Vigorous (Thalon), Impetus (Hormé), Counsellor (Noes), Bustler ('o9) or
Hasty (bitch), cf. Sperchon. For Polus we should probably
read Πόλευς, 'Rover.'

- οὐλλ' ἔχοιτα ἴφημιμέτας μακροῖς ἴμᾶσιν ἀκολουθεῖν ταῖς κυστὶς ἰχνευούσαις, ἔωντα αὐτὰς
 7 διατρίχειν τὰ ἱχνη. καὶ ἐπειδὰν ὁ λαγῶς εύρισκηται, ἐὰν μὲν καλαὶ οὖσι πρὸς τὸν δρόμον τὰ εἰδῆ, μὴ ἄνιέναι εὐθὺς ἐπειδὰν δὲ προλάβῃ ὁ λαγῶς τῷ δρόμῳ, ὥστε μὴ ἐφορᾶν ἔτι αὐτὸν,
 8 τὰς σκύλακας ἵειαι. ἐὰρ γὰρ ὅμόθεν καλὰς τὰ εἴδη οὖσας καὶ εὐψύχους πρὸς τὸν δρόμον ἐπιλύῃ, ὅρῶσαι τὸν λαγῶν ἐίτεινόμειαι φίγυνυνται, οὕπω
 9 ἔχουσαι συνεστῶτα τὰ σώματα· διαφυλάττειν οὖν δεῖ τοῦτο τὸν κυνηγέτην. ἐὰν δὲ αἰσχίους
 ὥστε πρὸς τὸν δρόμον, οὐδὲν κωλύει ἵειαι εὐθὺς γὰρ δὴ ἀνέλπιστοι οὖσαι τοῦ ἑλεῖν οὐ πείσονται τοῦτο. τὰ δὲ δρομαῖα τῶν ἰχνῶν, ἕως ἂν ἐλωσι,
 10 μεταθεῖν ἔων ἀλισκομένου δὲ τοῦ λαγῶν διδόναι αὐταῖς ἀναρριγγίγναι. ἐπειδὰν δὲ μηκέτι θέλωσι προσμένειν [ταῖς ἄρκυσιν].¹ ἀλλ' ἀποσκεδανύνωνται, ἀναλαμβάνειν, ἕως ἂν ἐθισθῶσιν εύρισκειν προσθέουσαι τὸν λαγῶν, μὴ οὐκ ἐν κόσμῳ ἀεὶ τοῦτον ζητοῦσαι τελευτῶσαι γίγνονται ἔκκυνοι, πονηρὸν μάθημα.
- 11 Πρὸς δὲ ταῖς ἄρκυσι διδόναι τὰ σιτία αὐταῖς, ἕως ἂν νέαι ὡσιν, ὅταν ἀναιρῶνται, ἵν' ἐὰν πλανηθῶσιν ἐν τῷ κυνηγεσίῳ δι' ἀπειρίαν, πρὸς τοῦτο ἐπανιοῦσαι σώζωνται. ἀφεθήσονται δὲ τούτου, ὅταν ἥδη τῷ θηρίῳ ἔχωσι πολεμίως, ἐπιμέλειαν δὲ

¹ The MSS. add τῷ ἵκρει after ἐλωσι above, but it is rightly omitted by S. after Dindorf: here too ταῖς ἄρκυσιν must be omitted, or changed, with Richardq., to τοῖς ἵκρεσιν

² But how is the hunter to know whether the hounds are on the trail leading to the form or on the track of a running hare?

trail that leads to the form, but keep them in long leashes and follow the tracking hounds, letting the youngsters run to and fro in the tricks¹. As soon as 7 the hare is found, if they shire well for the run don't let them go at once, but as soon as the hare has got so far ahead in the run that they can't see her, send them along. For if the huntsman slips good looking, 8 plucky runners close to the hare, the sight of her will cause them to strain themselves and crack, since their bodies are not yet firm. So he should be very cireful about this. But if they are 9 poor runners there is no reason why he should not let them go, for as they have no hope of catching the hare from the first, they will not meet with this accident. On the other hand, let the youngsters follow the track of the hare on the run until they catch her, and when she is caught, give her to them to break up². As soon as they 10 show reluctance to stick to it and begin scattering, call them in, until they grow accustomed to keep on till they find the hare, lest if they get into the way of misbehaving when they seek her, they end by becoming skirters—a vile habit.

Give them their food near the purse nets so 11 long as they are young, while the nets are being taken up, so that if they have gone astray in the hunting ground, through inexperience, they may come back safe for their meal. This will be discontinued when they come to regard the game as an enemy,

² Not to eat. Some hunters object more or less strongly to this injunction, but Beckford (*Thoughts on Hunting*), quoted by Blane, goes so far as to say, "I think it but reasonable to give the hounds a hare sometimes. I always gave mine the last they killed, if I thought they deserved her."

τοιήσοιται τούτου μᾶλλον ἡ ἐκείνου φροντίζειν
 12 χρη δε καὶ ως τὰ τολλὰ δεομέναις¹ διδόναι τὰ
 ἔτιτηδεια ταῖς κυστὶ αὐτοὶ ὅταν μὲν γάρ μὴ²
 ἔιδεεῖς ὥστι, τουτον τὸι αἴτιον οὐκ ἴσαστι, ὅταν
 δὲ ἔτιθυμοῦσαι λαβωστι, τὸι διδούτα στέργουσιν

VIII Ἰχνευεσθαι δὲ τους λαγῶς, ὅταν οὕφη
 ὁ θεός, ὥστε ἡφαισθαι τὴν γῆν εἰ δὲ ἐνεσται
 μελαγχίμα, δυσκήτητος ἔσται ἔστι δε, ὅταν
 μεν επιεφῆ³ καὶ ἡ βορειον, τὰ ἵχνη ἔξω τολὺν
 χρόνον δῆλα οὐ γάρ ταχυ συντήκεται ἕαν δε
 νοτιόν τε ἡ και ἥλιος επιλάμπη, ολιγοι χροιον
 ταχυ γαρ διαχεῖται

Οταν δὲ επινιφη συνεχῶς, οὐδεν δεῖ επικα
 λύπτει γαρ οὐδεν πνεῦμα ἡ μέγα συμφοροῦν
 2 γάρ τὴν χιονα ἀφανιζει κυνας μεν οὖν οὐδεν
 δεῖ ἔχοι τα εξεναι επὶ τὴν θηραν ταυτην η γαρ
 χιων καιει τῶν κυνῶν τὰς ρῖνας, τοὺς ποδας, τὴν
 οσμὴν τοῦ λαγῶ αφανιζει διὰ το ὑπερπαγες
 λαβούτα δε τὰ δικτυα μετ' ἄλλου ἐλθούτα προς
 τα ὄρη παριεναι ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων καὶ ἐπειδὰν
 3 λαβη τα ἵχνη, πορευεσθαι κατὰ ταῦτα εὰν δ
 επηλλαγμενα ἡ, εκ τῶν αὐτῶν παλιν εις το
 αὐτο ἥκοντα κυκλους ποιουμενον ἐκπειμεναι τὰ
 τοιαῦτα, ζητοῦντα ὅποι ἔξεισι πολλὰ δε πλα
 ιᾶται ο λαγῶς απορουμενος ὅπου κατακλιθῆ
 ἄμα δὲ καὶ εἴθισται τεχναζειν τῇ βαδίσει δια
 4 το διωκεσθαι αεὶ απὸ τῶν τοιουτων ἐπειδαν
 δε φανῆ το ἵχνος, προιέναι εἰς το πρόσθεν ἄξει
 δε ἡ προς συσκιον τοπον ἡ προς ἀποκρημνον
 τα γαρ πνευματα ὑπερφορεῖ τὴν χιόνα ὑπερ τῶν

¹ δεομένα : A S omits with BM

² μὴ added by Gesner S omits

they will be too intent on that to worry about their food. As a rule when they are hungry the master 12 should feed the hounds himself; for when they are not hungry they do not know to whom that is due; but when they want food and get it, they love the giver.

VIII Trick the hare when it snows so hard that the ground is covered, but if there are black spicas, she will be hard to find. When it is cloudy and the wind is in the north, the tricks lie plain on the surface for a long time, because they melt slowly, but only for a short time if the wind is south and the sun shines, since they soon melt away.

But when it snows without stopping, don't attempt it, since the tricks are covered, nor when there is a high wind, since they are buried in the snowdrifts it causes. On no account have the hounds 2 out with you for this kind of sport, for the snow freezes their noses and feet, and destroys the scent of the hare owing to the hard frost. But take the hayes, and go with a companion to the mountains, passing over the cultivated land, and as soon as the tracks are found, follow them. If they are 3 complicated, go back from the same ones to the same place and work round in circles and examine them, trying to find where they lead. The hare roams about uncertain where to rest, and, moreover, it is her habit to be tricky in her movements, because she is constantly being pursued in this manner. As soon as the track is clear, push straight 4 ahead. It will lead either to a thickly wooded spot or to a steep declivity. For the gusts of wind

* οπωεφη van Leeuwen οπωιφη S with the MSS

τοιούτων. παραλείπεται οὖν εὐγάσιμα πολλά·
 5 ζητεῖ δὲ τοῦτο. ἐπειδὰν δὲ τὰ ἵχνη πρὸς τὰ
 τοιαῦτα φέρῃ, μὴ προσιέναι ἔγγυς, ἵνα μὴ
 ὑποκινῇ, ἀλλὰ κύκλῳ ἐκπεριέναι· ἐλπὶς γὰρ
 αὐτοῦ εἶναι. δῆλον δ' ἔσται· τὰ γὰρ ἵχνη ἀπὸ⁶
 τῶν τοιούτων οὐδαμοῦ περάσει. ἐπειδὰν δὲ οὐ
 σαφὲς ὅτι αὐτοῦ ἔστιν, ἐάν μενεῖ γάρ· ἔτερον
 δὲ ζητεῖν, πρὶν τὰ ἵχνη ἀδηλα γενέσθαι, τῆς
 ὥρας ἐνθυμούμενον, ὅπως ἀν καὶ ἐτέρους εύρισκῃ,⁷
 ἔσται οὐδειπομένη ἰκανὴ περιστήσασθαι. ἡκούτος
 δὲ τούτου περιτείνειν αὐτῶν ἐκάστῳ τὰ δίκτυα
 τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὅνπερ ἐν τοῖς μελαγχίμοις,⁸
 περιλαμβάνοντα ἐντὸς πρὸς ὅτῳ ἀν οὐ, καὶ
 ἐπειδὰν ἔστηκότα οὐ, προσελθόντα κινεῖν. ἐάν
 δὲ ἐκκυλισθῇ ἐκ τῶν δικτύων, μεταθεῖν κατὰ τὰ
 ἵχνη· οὐ δὲ ἀφίξεται πρὸς ἔτερα τοιαῦτα χωρία,
 εἴαν μὴ ἄρα ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ χιόνι πιέσῃ ἑαυτόν.
 σκεψάμενον οὖν δεῖ ὅπου ἀν οὐ περιίστασθαι.
 ἐάν δὲ μὴ ὑπομένῃ, μεταθεῖν· ἀλώσεται γὰρ καὶ
 ἀνευ τῶν δικτύων ταχὺ γὰρ ἀπαγορεύει διὰ
 τὸ βάθος τῆς χιόνος καὶ διὰ τὸ κάτωθεν τῶν
 ποδῶν λασίων ὅντων προσέχεσθαι αὐτῷ δύκου
 πολύν.

IX. Ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς νεθροὺς καὶ τὰς ἐλάφους
 κύνας εἶναι Ἰνδικάς· εἰσὶ γὰρ ἴσχυραί, μεγάλαι,
 ποδώκεις, οὐκ ἄψυχοι· ἔχουσαι δὲ ταῦτα ἰκαναὶ¹
 γίγνονται πονεῖν. τοὺς μὲν οὖν νεογνοὺς τῶν

¹ The object is to make sure whether the track really does end there or not. If it does, he is to go on to seek another hare. "My father used to relate that in his student days an old forester on his brother in-law's estate, when he wanted to make sure of supplying a hare for his master's visitors,

carry the snow over such places, consequently many resting places are left, and she looks for one of these As soon as the tracks lead to such a place, don't go near, or she will move off, but go round and explore¹ For she is probably there, and there will be no doubt about the matter, since the tracks will nowhere run out from such places As soon as it is evident that she is there, leave her—for she will not stir—and look for another before the tracks become obscure, and take care, in case you find others, that you will have enough daylight left to surround them with nets When the time has come, stretch the hayes round each of them in the same way as in places where no snow lies, enclosing anything she may be near, and as soon as they are up, approach and start her If she wriggles out of the hayes, run after her along the tracks She will make for other places of the same sort, unless indeed she squeezes herself into the snow itself Wherever she may be, mark the place and surround it, or, if she doesn't wait, continue the pursuit. For she will be caught even without the hayes, for she soon tires owing to the depth of the snow, and because large lumps of it cling to the bottom of her hairy feet

IX For hunting fawns and deer² use Indian³ hounds, for they are strong, big, speedy and plucky, and these qualities render them capable of hounding

would surround the hare's form in the early morning and the hare would not leave her form for hours.⁴ A note (*Hermes*, 1918 p. 317)

* The red deer is meant Hunting the calves immediately after their birth seems a poor game but no doubt they were good eating

* Tibetan dogs, called by Grattius (159) Seres.

νεβρῶν τοῦ ἥρος θηρᾶν· ταύτην γὰρ τὴν ὥραν
 2 γίγνονται. κατασκέψασθαι δὲ πρότερον προ-
 ελθόντα εἰς τὰς ὄργαδας, οὐ εἰσιν ἔλαφοι πλεῖ-
 σται· ὅπου δὲ ἀν ώστι, ἔχοντα τὸν κυναγωγὸν
 τὰς κύνας καὶ ἀκόντια πρὸ ἡμέρας ἐλθόντα εἰς
 τὸν τόπον τοῦτον τὰς μὲν κύνας δῆσαι ἀποθεν
 ἐκ τῆς ὑλῆς, ὅπως μὴ, ἀν ἴδωσι τὰς ἔλαφους,
 3 ὑλακτῶσιν, αὐτὸν δὲ σκοπιωρεῦσθαι. ἅμα δὲ
 τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὅψεται ἀγούσας τοὺς νεβροὺς πρὸς τὸν
 τόπον, οὐ ἀν μέλλῃ ἔκαστη τὸν ἑαυτῆς εὐνάσειν.
 κατακλίνασαι δὲ καὶ γάλα δοῦσαι καὶ διασκε-
 ψάμεναι, μὴ ὀρῶνται ὑπό τινος, φυλάττει τὸν
 ἑαυτῆς ἔκαστη ἀπελθοῦσα εἰς τὸ ἀντιπέρας.
 4 ἴδοντα δὲ ταῦτα τὰς μὲν κύνας λῦσαι, αὐτὸν δὲ
 λαβόντα ἀκόντια προΐέναι ἐπὶ τὸν νεβρὸν τὸν
 πρῶτον, ὅπου εἶδεν εὖνασθέντα, τῶν τόπων
 ἐνθυμούμενον, ὅπως μὴ διαμαρτήσεται· πολὺ γὰρ
 ἀλλοιοῦνται τῇ ὅψει ἔγγυς προσιόντι ἡ οἷοι
 5 πόρρωθεν ἔδοξαν εἶναι. ἐπειδὸν δὲ ἵδη αὐτὸν,
 προσιέναι ἔγγυς, ὁ δὲ ἔξει ἀτρέμα πιέσας ὡς
 ἐπὶ γῆν καὶ ἔάσει ἀνελέσθαι, ἔαν μὴ ἐφυσμένος
 ἦ, βοῶν μέγα. τούτου δὲ γενομένου οὐ μενεῖ-
 ταχὺ γὰρ τὸ ὑγρόν, ὃ ἔχει ἐν ἑαυτῷ, ὑπὸ τοῦ
 ψυχροῦ συνιστάμενον ποιεῖ ἀποχωρεῦν αὐτὸν.
 6 ἀλώσεται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν κυνῶν σὺν πόνῳ διωκό-
 μενος· λαβόντα δὲ δοῦναι τῷ ἀρκυωρῷ· ὁ δὲ
 βοήσεται· ἡ δὲ ἔλαφος τὰ μὲν ἴδοντα, τὰ δὲ
 ἀκούσασα ἐπιδραμεῖται τῷ ἔχοντι αὐτὸν ζητοῦσα
 7 ὑφελέσθαι. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἐγκελεύειν ταῖς
 κυσὶ καὶ χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἀκοντίοις. κρατήσαντα
 δὲ τούτου πορεύεσθαι καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ
 τῷ αὐτῷ εἶδει πρὸς αὐτοὺς χρῆσθαι τῆς θήρας.

work Hunt the calves in spring, since they are born at that season First go to the meadows and reconnoitre, to discover where hinds are most plentiful Wherever they are, let the keeper of the hounds¹ go with the hounds and javelins to this place before daybreak and tie up the dogs to trees some distance off, so that they may not catch sight of the hinds and bark, and let him watch from a coign of vantage At daybreak he will see every dam leading her fawn to the place where she means to lay it When they have put them down, suckled them, and looked about to make sure that they are not seen, they move away into the osling and watch their calves On seeing this, let him loose the dogs, and taking the javelins approach the spot where he saw the nearest fawn laid, carefully observing the positions so as not to make a mistake, since they look quite different when approached from what they seemed to be at a distance As soon as he sees the fawn, let him go close up to it It will keep still, squeezing its body tight against the ground, and will let itself be lifted, bleating loudly, unless it is wet through, in which case it will not stay, since the rapid condensation of the moisture in its body by the cold causes it to make off But it will be caught by the hounds if hotly pursued Having taken it, let him give it to the net keeper It will cry out, and the sight and the sound between them will bring the hind running up to the holder, in her anxiety to rescue it That is the moment to set the hounds on her, and ply the javelins Having settled this one, let him proceed to tackle the rest, hunting them in the same manner

¹ The "Keeper of hounds" has not been mentioned in connection with hare hunting Apparently he is the person to whom all these instructions are addressees

- 8 Καὶ οἱ μὲν γέοι τῶν νεθρῶν οὗτως ἀλίσκονται·
οἱ δὲ ἥδη μεγάλοι χαλεπῶς νέμονται γὰρ
μετὰ τῶν μητέρων καὶ ἐτέρων ἐλάφων· καὶ
ἀποχωροῦσιν, ὅταν διώκωνται, ἐν μέσαις, ὅτε
9 δὲ προσθεῖ, ἐν δὲ τῷ ὑπισθεῖ ὀλεγάκις. αἱ δὲ
ἐλαφοὶ τὰς κύνας ὑπέρ αὐτῶν ἀμυνόμεναι κατα-
πατοῦσιν· ὡστ' οὐκ εὐάλωτοί εἰσιν, ἐὰν μὴ
10 προσμείξας τις εὐθὺς διασκεδάσῃ αὐτὰς ἀπ-
ἀλλήλων, ὥστε μονωθῆναι τινα αὐτῶν. Βιασθεῖσαι
δὲ τοῦτο τὸν μὲν πρῶτον δρόμον αἱ κύνες ἀπολεί-
πουνται· ἢ τε γὰρ ἀπουσίᾳ τῶν ἐλάφων ποιεῖ
αὐτὸν περίφοβον τό τε τάχος οὐδενὶ ἔοικός ἐστι
τῶν τηλικούτων νεθρῶν· δευτέρῳ δὲ καὶ τρίτῳ
δρόμῳ ταχὺ ἀλίσκονται· τὰ γὰρ σώματα αὐτῶν
διὰ τὸ ἔτι νεαρὰ εἶναι τῷ πόνῳ οὐ δύνανται
ἀντέχειν.
- 11 "Ιστανται δὲ καὶ ποδοστράβαι ταῖς ἐλάφοις
ἐν τοῖς ὅρεσι, περὶ τοὺς λειμῶνας καὶ τὰ ῥεῖθρα
καὶ τὰς νάπας ἐν ταῖς διόδοις καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις,
12 πρὸς ὅ τι ἀν προσίη. χρὴ δὲ εἶναι τὰς ποδο-
στράβας σμίλακος πεπλεγμένας, μὴ περιφλοίους,
ἴνα μὴ σηπωνται, τὰς δὲ στεφάνας εὔκύκλους
ἔχούσας, καὶ τοὺς ἥλους ἐναλλάξ σιδηροῦς τε
καὶ ξυλίνους ἐγκαταπεπλεγμένους ἐν τῷ πλο-
κάνῳ μείζους δὲ τοὺς σιδηροῦς, ὅπως ἀν οἱ μὲν
13 ξύλινοι ὑπείκωσι τῷ ποδὶ, οἱ δὲ πιέζωσι. τὸν
δὲ βρόχον τῆς σειρίδος τὸν ἐπὶ τὴν στεφάρην
ἐπιτεθησόμενον πεπλεγμένον σπάρτου καὶ αὐτὴν
τὴν σειρίδα· ἔστι γὰρ ἀσηπτότατον τοῦτο. ὁ δὲ
βρόχος αὐτὸς ἔστω στιφρὸς καὶ ή σειρίς· τὸ δὲ
ξύλον τὸ ἔξαπτόμενον ἔστω μὲν δρυὸς ἡ πρίνου,

Young fawns are caught by this method, but big ones are difficult to catch. For they graze with their dams and other deer, and when pursued they make off in the midst of them, or sometimes in front, but rarely in the rear. The hounds trample on the hounds in their efforts to defend their fawns, consequently it is not easy to catch them, unless a man gets amongst them at once¹ and scatters them, so that one of the fawns is isolated. The result of this strain on the hounds is that they are left behind in the first run, for the absence of the hinds fills the creature with terror, and the speed of fawns at that age is without parallel. But they are soon caught in the second or third run, since their bodies are still too young to stand the work.

Caltrops are set for deer in the mountains, about meadows and streams and glades, in alleys and cultivated lands that they frequent. The caltrops should be made of plaited yew, stripped of the bark, so as not to rot. They should have circular crowns, and the nails should be of iron and wood alternately, plaited into the rim,² the iron nails being the longer, so that the wooden ones will yield to the foot and the others hurt it. The noose of the cord to be laid on the crown and the cord itself should be of woven *spario*,³ since this is rot proof. The noose itself and the cord must be strong, and the clog attached must be of common or evergreen oak, twenty seven inches

¹ The author has omitted to explain how this is to be done.

² The "rim" (an unsatisfactory rendering) is the same thing as the crown.

³ Yates (Textrinum Antiquorum) considers that *spario* is the Spanish broom (*genista*) and not the grass (*stipa tenuissima*) now called esparto.

μέγεθος τρισπίθαμου, περίφλοιον, πάχος παλαιστῆς.

- 14 Ἰστάγαι δὲ τὰς ποδοστράβας διελόντα τῆς γῆς βάθος πεντεπάλαιστον, περιφερὲς δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἄνωθεν ἵσον ταῖς στεφάναις τῶν ποδοστραβῶν, εἰς δὲ τὸ κάτω ἀμειβόμενον στενότητι διελεῖν δὲ καὶ τῇ σειρίδι καὶ τῷ ξύλῳ τῆς γῆς ὅσον ἴζεσθαι ἀμφοῖν. ποιήσαντα δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ βάθος τὴν ποδοστράβην ἐπιθεῖναι κατωτέρῳ ἰσόπεδον, περὶ δὲ τὴν στέγην¹ τὸν βρόχον τῆς σειρίδος, καὶ αὐτὴν καὶ τὸ ξύλον καθέντα εἰς τὴν χώραν τὴν ἑκατέρου, τῇ στέγῃ ἐπιθεῖναι δοκίδας ἀτρακτυλίδος μὴ ὑπερτεινούσας εἰς τὸ ἔξω, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων πέταλα λεπτά, ὃν ἀν ἡ ὥρα ἡ. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τῆς γῆς ἐπιβαλεῖν ἐπ' αὐτὰ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν ἐπιπολῆς ἔξαιρεθεῖσαν ἐκ τῶν ὄρυγμάτων, ἄνωθεν δὲ γῆς στερεᾶς τῆς ἅποθεν, ἵνα ἡ τῇ ἐλάφῳ δτι μάλιστα ἀδηλος ἡ στάσις. τὴν δὲ περιούσαν τῆς γῆς ἀποφέρειν πόρρω ἀπὸ τῆς ποδοστράβης. ἐὰν γὰρ ὁσφραίνηται νεωστὶ κεκινημένης. δυσωπεῖται ταχὺ δὲ ποιεῖ τοῦτο.
- 17 ἐπισκοπεῖν δὲ ἔχοντα τὰς κύνας τὰς μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὅρεσιν ἐστώσας, μάλιστα μὲν ἔωθεν, χρὴ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀλλης ἡμέρας, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις πρωί. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ὅρεσιν οὐ μόνον τῆς νυκτὸς ἀλίσκονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν διὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις τῆς νυκτὸς διὰ τὸ μεθ' ἡμέραν πεφοβῆσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.
- 18 Ἐπειδὰν δὲ εῦρη ἀνεστραμμένην τὴν ποδοστράβην, μεταθεῖν ἐπιλύσαντα τὰς κύνας καὶ ἐπικελεύσαντα κατὰ τὸν ὄλκὸν τοῦ ξύλου, σκοπούμενον ὅπου ἀν φέρηται. ἔσται δὲ οὐκ ἀδηλον

long, not stripped of the bark, and three inches thick

To set the caltrops make a round hole in the ground fifteen inches deep, of the same size at the top as the crowns of the traps, but tapering towards the bottom. Make shallow drills in the ground for the cord and the clog to lie in. Having done this lay the caltrop on the hole a little below the surface, and level, and put the noose of the cord round the top. Having laid the cord and the clog in their places, lay spindle wood twigs on the top, not letting them stick out beyond the circle, and on these any light leaves in season. Next throw some earth on them, beginning with the surface soil taken from the holes, and on top of this some unbroken soil from a distance, in order that the position may be completely concealed from the deer. Remove any earth remaining over to a place some distance from the caltrop, for if the deer smells earth recently disturbed, it shies, and it is not slow to smell it. Accompanied by the hounds inspect the traps set in the mountains, preferably at daybreak (but it should be done also at other times during the day), in the cultivated lands early. For in the mountains deer may be caught in the daytime as well as at night owing to the solitude, but on cultivated land only at night, because they are afraid of human beings in the daytime.

On coming across a caltrop upset, slip the hounds give them a bark forward, and follow along the track of the clog, noticing which way it runs. That

² στέγην and (presently) στέγη Α στεφάνην and στεφαρ
S with M

επὶ τὸ πολύ οἵ τε γάρ λίθοι ἔσονται κεκινημένοι
τὰ τ' ἐπισύρματα τοῦ ξύλου καταφαγῇ ἐν τοῖς
ἔργοις ἐὰν δὲ τραχεῖς τοτούς διατερᾶ, αἱ τέτραι
ἔξουσι τὸι φλοιοι τοῦ ξύλου ἀφηρπασμέιον καὶ
κατὰ τοῦτο ρῆσονται μεταδρομαὶ ἔσανται

19 Ἐὰν μὲν οὖν τοῦ προσθίου ποδὸς ἀλῶ, ταχὺ¹
ληφθήσεται· ἐν γάρ τῷ δρόμῳ τῶν τὸ σῶμα
τύπτει καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἐὰν δὲ τοῦ ὅπισθει,
ἐφελκόμενον τὸ ξύλον ἐμποδὼν ὀλῶ ἔστι τῷ
σωματὶ ἐνίστε δὲ καὶ εἰς δικρόας τῆς ὑλῆς
ἐμπίπτει φερόμειον, καὶ ἐὰν μὴ ἀπορρηξῃ τὴν
20 σειρίδα, καταλαμβάνεται αὐτοῦ χρὴ δ' εἰαι
οὗτως ἔλη ἡ περιγενομένος πόνῳ, μὴ προσιει αἱ
ἔγγυς τοῖς γάρ κερασι πάιει ἐὰν μὲν ἡ ἄρρη,²
καὶ τοῦ ποδοῦ ἐὰν δὲ θήλεια τοῦ ποδοῦ
ἀποθεν οὖν ἀκοντίζειν

Ἄλισκονται δὲ καὶ ἄνευ ποδοστράβης διωκό³
μεναι, ὅταν ἡ ἡ ὥρα θερινή ἀπαγορεύουσι γάρ
σφόδρα ὥστε ἔστωσαι ἀκοντίζονται ριπτοῦσι
δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν θαλατταν, ἐὰν κατέχωνται, καὶ εἰς
τὰ ὕδατα ἀπορουμεναι ὅτε δὲ διὰ δυσπνοιαν
πίπτουσι

Χ Πρὸς δὲ τὸν ὃν τὸν ἄγριον κεκτῆσθαι κύνας
Ἰνδικας, Κρητικάς, Λοκρίδας, Λακαίνας, ἄρκυς,
ἀκοιτία, προβολια ποδοστραβας πρώτον μὲν
οὖν χρη εἶναι τὰς κυνας ἐκαστον³ γένους μὴ τὰς
ἐπιτυχουσας, ινα ἔτοιμαι ὡσι πολεμεῖν τῷ θηριῳ
2 αἱ δὲ ἄρκυς λινων μὲν τῶν αὐτῶν ὧνπερ αἱ τῶν
λαγῶν, ἔστωσαν δε πεντεκαιτετταρακοντάλενοι

¹ οὖν μὲν ἡ ἄρρη follows πόνῳ in S and the MSS Diels saw that it belongs here. M has το s πόνῳ and omits ἐὰν δὲ θήλεια το s πόδον by oversight and so S

will be clear enough for the most part for the stones will be displaced and the trail of the clog will be obvious in the cultivated ground, and if the deer crosses rough places, there will be fragments of bark torn from the clog on the rocks, and the pursuit will be all the easier.

If the deer is caught by the fore-foot it will soon 19 be taken, as it hits every part of its body and its face with the clog during the run, or if by the hind-leg, the dragging of the clog hampers the whole body, and sometimes it dashes into forked branches of trees, and unless it breaks the cord, is caught on the spot But, whether you catch it in this way or by 20 weirring it out, don't go near it, for it will butt, if it's a stag, and kick, and if it's a hind, it will kick So throw javelins at it from a distance

In the summer months they are also caught by pursuit without the aid of a caltrop, for they get dead beat, so that they are hit standing When hard pressed, they will even plunge into the sea and into pools in their bewilderment, and occasionally they drop from want of breath

X. For hunting the wild boar provide yourself with Indian, Cretan, Locrian and Laconian¹ hounds, boar nets, javelins, spears and caltrops In the first place the hounds of each breed must be of high quality, that they may be qualified to fight the beast. The 2 nets must be made of the same flax as those used for hares, of forty-five threads woven in three strands,

¹ i.e. Laconian hounds of the Castoran variety, see a. iii § 5.

* *Missing from the text as quoted by Aristotle. It agrees with the MSS.*

ἐκ τριῶν -όισι, ἔκαστος δὲ τόιος ἐκ τευτεκαΐδεκα λίσιαι, ἀ-ὸ δὲ -οῦ κοριφαίου το μέγεθο. δεχάμ μπτοι, -ὸ δε θυλος τῶι βροχωι -υγόιος οι δὲ τερέδρομοι ἥμιούιοι τοῦ τῆι αρκάνη -άχους ἐ- ἄκροις δὲ δακτυλίους ἔχεται, ύψεισθωσαν δ ὑ-ὸ -οὺς βρόχους, τὸ δὲ ἄκροι αὐτῶν ἐκτεριτω ἔξω διὰ τῶι δακτυλίωι ίκαιαί¹ δὲ τευτεκαΐδεκα

3 Τὰ δὲ ἄκοι τια ἔστω -πιτοδατά, ἔχοιτα τας λόγχας εὔτλατεῖς καὶ ξυρηκεῖς, ράβδους δὲ στιφράς τὰ δὲ -ροβολα -ρῶτοι μεν λόγχας ἔχοι τα τὸ μὲν μέγεθος τευτεταλαιστους, κατὰ δὲ μέσον τὸν αὐλὸν κιωδοντας ἀποκεχαλκευμένους, στιφρούς, καὶ τὰς ράβδους κρανειας δορατοταχεῖς αἱ δὲ ποδοστράβαι ὅμοιαι ταῖς τῶν ἐλαιφων συχκυνηγεται δ' ἔστωσαν το γαρ θηρίον μολις καὶ ὑπὸ τολλῶν ἀλίσκεται ὅπως δὲ δεῖ τούτων ἐκάστῳ χρῆσθαι πρὸς θηραί, διδιξω

4 Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν χρὴ ἐλθοντας οὐ ἀν οἴωνται² ὑπάγειν το κυνηγέσιον, λύσαντας μίαν τῶν κυνῶν τῶν Λακαινῶν, τὰς δ' ἄλλας ἔχοντας δεδε

5 μένας συμπεριεναι τῇ κυνί ἐπειδάν δὲ λαβη αὐτοῦ τὰ ἵχη, ἐπεσθαι ἔξῆς τῇ ἵχνευσει ηγου μένη ἀκολουθοῦντας σαφῶς³ ἔσται δε καὶ τοῖς κυνηγεταις πολλα δῆλα αὐτοῦ, εν μὲν τοῖς μαλα-

¹ Ikaroi S with A² εἰναι which S and the MSS add after οἴωνται was removed by Pierleoni³ ἀκολουθοῦντας σαφως A ἀκολουθίᾳ S with B ἀκολου θιαν M

* This means I believe ten meshes so that the net would be about 150 inches high Otto Manns (*Über die Jagd bei den*

each strand containing fifteen threads. The height should be ten knots, counted from the top,¹ and the depths of the meshes fifteen inches. The ropes at top and bottom must be half as thick again as the nets. There must be metal rings at the elbows, and the ropes must be inserted under the meshes, and their ends must pass out through the rings.² Fifteen nets are sufficient.³

The javelins must be of every variety, the blades broad and keen, and the shafts strong. The spears must have blades fifteen inches long, and stout teeth at the middle of the socket, forged in one piece but standing out, and their shafts must be of cornel wood, as thick as a military spear. The caltrops must be similar to those used in hunting deer. There must be several huntsmen, for the task of capturing the beast is no light one even for a large number of men. I will now explain how to use each portion of the outfit in hunting.

First then, when the company reach the place where they suppose the game to lurk, let them slip one of the Laconian hounds, and taking the others in leash, go round the place with the hound. As soon as she has found his tracks, let the field follow, one behind another, keeping exactly to the line of the track. The huntsmen also will find many evi-

Grieschen), however, thinks that the net was five feet high only, i.e. four meshes (cf. c. iv § 5), but (1) it is hard to see how "four meshes" can be got out of "ten knots" and (2) the "bosom" (see § 7) requires a considerably greater height than five feet.

¹ The ends of the upper ropes appear to have been used for fastening the nets together.

² It is strange that the author does not state the length of the nets.

κοῖς τῶν χωρίων τὰ ἵχνη, ἐν δὲ τοῖς λασίοις τῆς
 ὕλης κλασμάται· ὅπου δ' ἀν δένδρα ἥ, πληγαὶ
 τῶν ὄδόντων. ἥ δὲ κύων ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἀφίξεται
 τόπον ὑλώδη ἵχνεύουσα. κατακλίνεται γὰρ τὸ
 θηρίον ώς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ εἰς τοιαῦτα· τοῦ μὲν γὰρ
 χειμῶνός ἔστιν ἀλεεινά, τοῦ δὲ θέρους ψυχεινά.
 ἐπειδὰν δ' ἀφίκηται ἐπὶ τὴν εὐήνην, ὑλακτεῖ· οὐδὲ
 οὐκ ἀνίσταται ώς τὰ πολλά. λαβόντα οὖν τὴν
 κύνα καὶ ταύτην μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων δῆσαι ἀποθεν
 ἀπὸ τῆς εὔνης πολὺ καὶ εἰς τοὺς ὄρμους ἐμβάλ-
 λεσθαι τὰς ἄρκυς, ἐπιβάλλοντα τοὺς βρόχους
 ἐπὶ ἀποσχαλιδώματα τῆς ὕλης δικρά· τῆς δὲ
 ἄρκυος αὐτῆς μακρὸν προϊκούτα κόλπον ποιεῖν,
 ἀντηρίδας ἔνδοθεν ἐκατέρωθεν ὑφιστάντα κλῶνας,
 ὅπως ἀν εἰς τὸν κόλπον διὰ τῶν βρόχων αἱ αὐγαὶ
 τοῦ φέγγους ώς μάλιστα ἐνέχωσιν, ἵνα προσ-
 θέοντι ώς φανότατον ἥ τὸ ἔσω· καὶ τὸν περί-
 δρομὸν ἐξάπτειν ἀπὸ δένδρου ἰσχυροῦ καὶ μὴ ἐκ
 ράχου συνέχουνται γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ψιλοῖς αἱ ράχοι.
 ὑπὲρ δὲ ἐκάστης ἐμφράττειν τῇ ὕλῃ καὶ τὰ
 δύσορμα, ἵνα εἰς τὰς ἄρκυς ποιῆται τὸν δρόμον
 μὴ ἐξαλλάττων.

⁵ Ἐπειδὰν δὲ στῶσιν, ἐλθόντας πρὸς τὰς κύνας
 λῦσαι ἀπάσας καὶ λαβόντας τὰ ἀκόντια καὶ τὰ
 προβόλια προΐέναι. ἐγκελεύειν δὲ ταῖς κυστὶν
 εἴα τὸν ἐμπειρότατον, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐπεσθαι
 κοσμίως ἀπολείποντας ἀπ' ἄλληλων πολύ, ὅπως
 ἀν ἥ αὐτῷ ἴκανή διαδρομή ἐὰν γὰρ ὑποχωρῶν
 ἐμπέσῃ εἰς πυκνούς, κίνδυνος πληγῆναι· φῆ γὰρ
 ἀν προσπέσῃ, εἰς τοῦτον τὴν ὄργην κατέθετο.

¹ The text is doubtful. I now think συγκλήνεται probable
 for συνέχουνται.

dences of the quarry, the tracks in soft ground, broken branches where the bushes are thick, and marks of his tusks wherever there are trees. The hound following the track will, as a rule, arrive at a well-wooded spot. For the beast usually lies in such places, since they are warm in winter and cool in summer. As soon as the hound reaches the lair, she will bark. But in most cases the boar will not get up. So take the hound and tie her up with the others at a good distance from the lair, and have the nets put up in the convenient anchorages, hanging the meshes on forked branches of trees. Out of the net itself make a long projecting bosom, putting sticks inside to prop it up on both sides, so that the light of day may penetrate as much as possible into the bosom through the meshes, in order that the interior may be as light as possible when the boar rushes at it. Fasten the (lower) rope to a strong tree, not to a bush, since the bushes give way at the bare stem.¹ Wherever there is a gap between a net and the ground,² fill in the places that afford no anchorage with wood, in order that the boar may rush into the net, and not slip out.

As soon as they are in position, let the party go to the hounds and loose them all, and take the javelins and the spears and advance. Let one man, the most experienced, urge on the hounds, while the others follow in regular order, keeping well behind one another, so that the boar may have a free passage between them; for should he beat a retreat and dash into a crowd, there is a risk of being gored, since he spends his rage on anyone he encounters.

¹ The text is again uncertain, but the sense is clear. I incline to *εἰδεις δὲ ξύλον*.

ΧΕΝΟΡΗΟΝ

9 Ἐπειδὰν δὲ αἱ κύνες ἔγγυς ὡς τῆς εὐνῆς,
 ἐπεισίαστι θορυβούμενος δὲ ἔξαναστήσεται, καὶ
 ἦτις ἀν τῶν κυνῶν προσφέρηται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ
 πρόσωπον, ἀναρρίψει θέων δὲ ἐμπεσεῖται· ἐὰν
 δὲ μή, μεταθεῖν ἀνάγκη. καὶ ἐὰν μὲν οὐ τὸ
 χωρίον καταφερέται, ἐν τῷ ἀν ἔχῃ αὐτὸν η ἄρκυς,
 ταχὺ ἔξαναστήσεται. ἐὰν δὲ ἄπεδον, εὐθὺς
 10 ἐστήξει περὶ αὐτὸν ἔχων. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ
 καιρῷ αἱ μὲν κύνες προσκείσονται αὐτοὺς δὲ
 χρὴ φυλαττομένους αὐτὸν ἀκοντίζειν καὶ λίθοις
 βάλλειν, περισταμένους δπισθεν καὶ πολὺ ἅποθεν,
 ἕως ἀν κατατείνῃ προσθῶν αὐτὸν τῆς ἄρκυος τὸν
 περίδρομον. εἴτα δεστις ἀν οὐ τῶν παρόιτων
 ἐμπειρότατος καὶ ἐγκρατέστατος, προσελθόντα
 11 ἐκ τοῦ πράσθεν τῷ προβόλῳ παίειν. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ
 βούληται ἀκοντίζόμενος καὶ βαλλόμενος κατα-
 τεῖναι τὸν περίδρομον, ἀλλ' ἐπανιεὶς ἔχῃ πρὸς
 τὸν προσιόντα περιδρομὴν ποιούμενος, ἀνάγκη,
 ὅταν οὕτως ἔχῃ, λαβόντα τὸ προβόλιον προσ-
 ιέναι, ἔχεσθαι δὲ αὐτοῦ τῇ μὲν χειρὶ τῇ ἀρι-
 στερᾷ πρόσθεν, τῇ δὲ ἑτέρᾳ δπισθεν κατορθοῖ
 γὰρ η μὲν ἀριστερὰ αὐτό, η δὲ δεξιὰ ἐπεμβάλλει·
 ἐμπροσθεν δὲ ὁ ποὺς ὁ μὲν ἀριστερὸς ἐπέσθια τῇ
 12 χειρὶ τῇ διμωνύμῳ, ὁ δὲ δεξιὸς τῇ ἑτέρᾳ· προσ-
 ιόντα δὲ προβάλλεσθαι τὸ προβόλιον μὴ πολλῷ
 μείζω διαβάντα η ἐν πάλῃ, ἐπιστρέφοντα τὰς
 πλευρὰς τὰς εὐωνύμους ἐπὶ τὴν χειρα τὴν εὐώνυ-
 μον, εἴτα εἰσβλέποντα εἰς τὸ διμα τοῦ θηρίου,
 ἐνθυμούμενον τὴν κίνησιν τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς
 τῆς ἐκείνου. προσφέρειν δὲ τὸ προβόλιον φυλα-
 τομένον, μὴ ἐκκραύσῃ ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν τῇ κεφαλῇ
 ἐκνεύσας· τῇ γὰρ ρύμῃ τῆς ἐκκρούσεως ἐπεται.

As soon as the hounds are near the lair, they will go for him. The noise will cause him to get up, and he will toss any hound that attacks him in front. He will run and plunge into the nets, or if not, you must pursue him. If the ground where he is caught in the net is sloping, he will quickly get up, if it is level, he will immediately stand still, intent on himself. At this moment the hounds will press their attack, and the huntsmen must fling their javelins at him warily, and pelt him with stones, gathering round behind and a good way off, till he shoves hard enough to pull the rope of the net tight. Then let the most experienced and most powerful man in the field approach him in front and thrust his spear into him. If, in spite of javelins and stones, he refuses to pull the rope tight, but draws back, wheels round and marks his assailant, in that case the man must approach him spear in hand, and grasp it with the left in front and the right behind, since the left steadies while the right drives it. The left foot must follow the left hand forward, and the right foot the other hand. As he advances let him hold the spear before him, with his legs not much further apart than in wrestling, turning the left side towards the left hand, and then watching the beast's eye and noting the movement of the fellow's head. Let him present the spear, taking care that the boar doesn't knock it out of his hand with a jerk of his head, since he follows up the impetus of the

παθόντα δὲ τοῦτο πίπτειν δεῖ ἐπὶ στόμα καὶ
 ἔχεσθαι τῆς ὑλῆς κάτωθεν τὸ γάρ θηρίου ἐὰν
 μὲν οὕτως ἔχοντι προσπέσῃ, διὰ τὴν σιμότητα
 τῶν ὀδόντων τὸ σῶμα οὐ δύναται ὑπολαβεῖν·
 ἐὰν δὲ μετεώρῳ, ἀνάγκη πληγῆναι. πειρᾶται
 μὲν οὖν μετεωρίζειν. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ δύνηται, ἀμφιβάσ-
 πατεῖ. ἀπαλλαγὴ δὲ τούτων μία ἔστι μόνη,
 ὅταν ἐν τῇ ἀνάγκῃ ταύτη ἔχῃται, προσελθόντα
 ἐγγὺς τῶν συγκυνηγετῶν ἔνα ἔχοντα προβόλιον
 ἐρεθίζειν ως ἀφίσοιται ἀφιέναι δὲ οὐ χρή, μὴ
 τύχη τοῦ πεπτωκότας. ὅταν δὲ ἵδη τοῦτο, κατα-
 λιπὼν ὃν ἀν ἔχῃ ὑφ' αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τὸν ἐρεθίζοντα ὑπ'
 ὄργης καὶ θυμοῦ ἐπιστρέψει. τὸν δὲ ταχὺ ἀνα-
 πηδᾶν, τὸ δὲ προβόλιον μεμιῆσθαι ἔχοντα ἀν-
 στασθαι οὐ γάρ καλὴ η σωτηρία ἄλλως η
 κρατήσαντι. προσφέρειν δὲ πάλιν τὸν αὐτὸν
 τρόπον καὶ προτεῖναι ἐντὸς τῆς ὡμοπλάτης, η η
 σφαγή, καὶ ἀντερείσαντα ἔχειν ἐρρωμένως· ο δ'
 ὑπὸ τοῦ μένους πρόεισι, καὶ εἰ μὴ κωλύοιεν οἱ
 κυνώδοντες τῆς λόγχης, ἀφίκοιτ' ἀν διὰ τῆς
 ῥάβδου προωθῶν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν τὸ προβόλιον
 ἔχοντα.

Οὗτο δὲ πολλὴ η δύναμίς ἔστιν αὐτοῦ, ὥστε
 καὶ ἡ οὐκ ἀν οἴσιτο τις πρόσεστιν αὐτῷ· τε-
 θνεῶτος γάρ εὐθὺς ἐάν τις ἐπὶ τὸν ὀδόντα ἐπιθῆ-
 τρίχας, συντρέχουσιν οὕτως εἰσὶ θερμοί· ζῶντες
 δὲ διάπυροι, ὅταν ἐρεθίζηται οὐ γάρ ἀν τῶν
 κυνῶν ἀμαρτάνων τῇ πληγῇ τοῦ σώματος ἄκρα
 τὰ τριχώματα περιεπίμπρα.

Ο μὲν οὖν ἄρρην τοσαῦτα καὶ ἔτε πλείω

sudden knock In case this accident should happen, 13
 the man must fall on his face and clutch the
 undergrowth beneath him, for, if the beast attacks
 him in this position, he is unable to lift the man's
 body owing to the upward curve of his tusks, but if
 his body is off the ground, the man is certain to be
 gored Consequently the boar tries to lift him up,
 and, if he cannot, he stands over and tramples on
 him For a man in this critical situation there is 14
 only one escape from these disasters One of his
 fellow huntsmen must approach with a spear and
 provoke the boar by making as though he would
 hurl it, but he must not hurl it, or he may hit the
 man on the ground On seeing this the boar will 15
 leave the man under him and turn savagely and
 furiously on his tormentor The other must jump up
 instantly, remembering to keep his spear in his hand as
 he rises, for safety without victory is not honourable
 He must again present the spear in the same way as 16
 before, and thrust it inside the shoulder blade where
 the throat is, and push with all his might The
 enraged beast will come on, and but for the teeth of
 the blade, would shove himself forward along the
 shaft far enough to reach the man holding the
 spear

His strength is so great that he has some peculiar 17
 properties which one would never imagine him to
 possess Thus, if you lay hairs on his tusks im-
 mediately after he is dead, they shrivel up, such is
 the heat of the tusks While he is alive they become
 intensely hot whenever he is provoked, or the
 surface of the hounds coats would not be singed
 when he tries to gore them and misses

All this trouble, and even more, the male animal 18

πράγματα παρασχῶν ἀλίσκεται. ἐὰν δὲ θήλεια
ἢ ἡ ἐμπεσοῦσα, ἐπιθέοντα παίειν φυλαττόμενον
μὴ ὥσθεις πέσῃ παθόντα δὲ τοῦτο πατεῖσθαι
ἀνάγκη καὶ δάκνεσθαι. ἐκόντα οὖν οὐ χρὴ ὑποπί-
πτειν· ἐὰν δὲ ἄκων ἔλθῃ εἰς τοῦτο, διαναστάσεις
γίγνονται αἱ αὐταὶ ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρρενος·
ἔξαναστάντα δὲ δεῖ παίειν τῷ προβολίῳ, ἕως
ἄν ἀποκτείνῃ.

- 19 'Αλίσκονται δὲ καὶ ὡδε. ἴστανται μὲν αὐτοῖς
αἱ ἄρκυς ἐπὶ τὰς διαβάσεις τῶν ναπῶν εἰς τοὺς
δρυμούς, τὰ ἄγκη, τὰ τραχέα, ἢ εἰσβολαὶ εἰσιν
εἰς τὰς ὄργαδας καὶ τὰ ἔλη καὶ τὰ ὄδατα. ὁ δὲ
τεταγμένος ἔχων τὸ προβόλιον φυλάττει τὰς
ἄρκυς. οἱ δὲ τὰς κύνας ἐπάγουσι τοὺς τόπους
ζητοῦντες τοὺς καλλίστους ἐπειδὰν δὲ εὑρεθῆ,
20 διώκεται. ἐὰν οὖν εἰς τὴν ἄρκυν ἐμπίπτῃ, τὸν
ἄρκυωρὸν ἀναλαβόντα τὸ προβόλιον προσιέναι
καὶ χρῆσθαι ως εἴρηκα· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἐμπέσῃ, μετα-
θεῖν. ἀλίσκεται δὲ καὶ ὅταν ἡ πνίγη, διωκόμενος
ὑπὸ τῶν κυνῶν· τὸ γὰρ θηρίον καίπερ ὑπερ-
βάλλον δυνάμει ἀπαγορεύει ὑπέρασθμον γγυνό-
21 μενον. ἀποθνήσκουσι δὲ κύνες πολλαὶ ἐν τῇ
τοιαύτῃ θήρᾳ καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ κυνηγέται κινδυνεύ-
ουσιν, ὅταν γε¹ ἐν ταῖς μεταδρομαῖς ἀπειρηκότι
ἀναγκάζωνται προσιέναι τὰ προβόλια ἢ ἐν ὄδατι
ὄντι ἡ ἐφεστῶτι² πρὸς ἀποκρύμνων ἢ ἐκ δασέος
μὴ θέλοντι ἔξειναι· οὐ γὰρ κωλύει αὐτὸν οὔτε
ἄρκυς οὔτε ἄλλο οὐδὲν φέρεσθαι ὅμοσε τῷ
πλησιάζοντι· ὅμως μέντοι προσιτέον, ὅταν ἔχῃ
σύτως, καὶ ἐπιδεικτέον· τὴν εὐψυχίαν, δι' ἣν
22 εἶλοιτο ἐκποιεῖν τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ταύτην. χρη-
στέον δὲ τῷ προβολίῳ καὶ ταῖς προβολαῖς τοῦ

causes before he is caught If the creature in the toils is a sow, run up and stick her, taking care not to be knocked down Such an accident is bound to result in your being trampled and bitten So don't fall under her, if you can help it If you get into that position unintentionally, the same aids to rise that are used to assist a man under a boar are employed When on your feet again, you must ply the spear until you kill her

Another way of capturing them is as follows 19
 The nets are set up for them at the passages from glens into oak coppices, dells and rough places, on the outskirts of meadows, fens and sheets of water The keeper, spear in hand, watches the nets The huntsmen take the hounds and search for the likeliest places As soon as the boar is found, he is pursued If he falls into the net, the net-keeper must take 20 his spear, approach the boar, and use it as I have explained The boar is also captured, in hot weather, when pursued by the hounds, for in spite of his prodigious strength, the animal tires with hard breathing Many hounds are killed in this kind of sport, 21 and the huntsmen themselves run risks, whenever in the course of the pursuit they are forced to approach a boar with their spears in their hands, when he is tired or standing in water or has posted himself by a steep declivity or is unwilling to come out of a thicket; for neither net nor anything else stops him from rushing at anyone coming near him Nevertheless approach they must in these circumstances, and show the pluck that led them to take up this hobby They must use the spear and the forward 22

¹ γέ Pierleoni δε S with the MSS.

² ἀφεστατι A ἀφεστατι S with BM

σώματος ώς είρηται εἰ γάρ τι καὶ πάσχοι, οὐκ
ἄν διά γε τὸ μὴ¹ ὄρθως ποιεῖν πάσχοι.

"Ιστανται δὲ αἱ ποδοστράβαι αὐτοῖς ὥσπερ
ταῖς² ἐλύφοις ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς τόποις, καὶ ἐπισκέ-
ψεις αἱ αὐταὶ καὶ μεταδρομαὶ καὶ αἱ πρόσοδοι
καὶ αἱ χρεῖαι τοῦ προβολέου.

23 Τὰ δὲ νεογενῆ αὐτῶν ὅταν ἀλίσκηται, χαλεπῶς
τοῦτο πάσχει· οὔτε γάρ μονοῦται, ἔως ἣν μικρὰ
ἡ, ὅταν τε αἱ κύνες εὑρισκοῦνται προΐδῃ τι, ταχὺ
εἰς τὴν ὑλὴν ἀφανίζεται· ἔπονται δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ
ῶν ἣν ὡσιν ἄμφω, χαλεποὶ ὅντες τότε καὶ μᾶλλον
μαχόμενοι ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων ἢ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν.

XI. Λέοντες δέ, παρδάλεις, λύγκες, πάνθηρες,
ἄρκτοι καὶ τάλλα ὅσα ἔστι τοιαῦτα θηρία
ἀλίσκεται ἐν ξέναις χώραις περὶ τὸ Πάγγαιον
ὄρος καὶ τὸν Κίττον τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς Μακεδονίας,
τὰ δ' ἐν τῷ Ὀλύμπῳ τῷ Μυσίῳ καὶ ἐν Πίνδῳ,
τὰ δ' ἐν τῇ Νύσῃ τῇ ὑπὲρ τῆς Συρίας καὶ πρὸς
τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅρεσιν, ὅσα οἵα τ' ἔστι τρέφειν
2 τοιαῦτα. ἀλίσκεται δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὅρεσι
φαρμάκῳ διὰ δυσχωρίαν ἀκονιτικῷ, παραβάλ-
λουσι δὲ τοῦτο οἱ θηρώμενοι συμμιγγύντες εἰς
τὸ αὐτό, ὅτῳ ἣν ἔκαστον χαίρῃ, περὶ τὰ ὕδατα
3 καὶ πρὸς ὅ τι ἣν ἄλλο προσιή. τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν
καταβαίνοντα εἰς τὸ πεδίον τῆς νυκτὸς ἀποκλει-
σθέντα μετὰ ὑππων καὶ ὅπλων ἀλίσκεται, εἰς
4 κίνδυνον καθιστάντα τοὺς αἱροῦντας. ἔστι δὲ οἷς
αὐτῶν καὶ ὄρύγματα ποιοῦσι περιφερῆ, μεγάλα,
βαθέα, ἐν μέσῳ λείποντες κίονα τῆς γῆς. ἐπὶ³
δὲ τοῦτον εἰς νύκτα ἐπέθεσαν δῆσαντες αἴγα καὶ
ἔφραξαν κύκλῳ τὸ ὅρυγμα ὑλὴ, ὥστε μὴ προορᾶν,

¹ μὴ omitted by S.

position of the body is explained, then, if a man does come to grief, it will not be through doing things the wrong way

Caltrops are also set for them as for the deer and in the same places. The routine of inspection and pursuit, the methods of approach and the use of the spear are the same.

The young pigs are not to be caught without difficulty. For they are not left alone so long as they are little, and when the hounds find them or they see something coming, they quickly vanish into the wood, and they are generally accompanied by both parents, who are fierce at such times and more ready to fight for their young than for themselves.

XI Lions, leopards, lynxes, panthers, bears and all similar wild beasts are captured in foreign countries, about Mt Pangaeus and Cittus beyond Macedonia, on Myrian Olympus and Pindus, on Nysa beyond Syria, and in other mountain ranges capable of supporting such animals. On the mountains they are sometimes poisoned, owing to the difficulty of the ground, with aconite. Hunters put it down mixed with the animals favourite food round pools and in other places that they frequent. Sometimes, while they are going down to the plain at night, they are cut off by parties of armed and mounted men. This is a dangerous method of capturing them. Sometimes the hunters dig large, narrow deep holes, leaving a pillar of earth in the middle. They tie up a goat and put it on the pillar in the evening, and pile wood round the hole without leaving an entrance, so that the animal can't see

εῖσοδον οὐ λείποντες. τὰ δὲ ἀκούοντα τῆς φωνῆς
ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ κύκλῳ τὸν φραγμὸν περιθέουσι
καὶ ἐπειδὴν μὴ εὑρίσκῃ δίοδον, ὑπερπηδᾶ καὶ
ἄλισκεται.

XII. Περὶ μὲν αὐτῶν τῶν πράξεων τῶν ἐν
τοῖς κυνηγεσίοις εἴρηται. ὡφελήσονται δ' οἱ
ἐπιθυμήσαντες τούτου τοῦ ἔργου πολλά· ὑγίειάν
τε γάρ τοῖς σώμασι παρασκευάζει καὶ ὄραν καὶ
ἀκούειν μᾶλλον, γηράσκειν δὲ ἡττον, τὰ δὲ πρὸς
2 τὸν πόλεμον μάλιστα παιδεύει. πρώτον μὲν τὰ
ὅπλα ὅταν ἔχοντες πορεύωνται ὄδοὺς χαλεπάς,
οὐκ ἀπεροῦσιν ἀνέξονται γάρ τοὺς πόνους διὰ
τὸ εἰθίσθαι μετὰ τούτων αἵρεν τὰ θηρία, ἐπειτα
εὐνάζεσθαι τε σκληρῶς δυνατοὶ ἔσονται καὶ
3 φύλακες εἶναι ἀγαθοὶ τοῦ ἐπιταττομένου. ἐν δὲ
ταῖς προσόδοις ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἅμα
οἷοί τε ἔσονται ἐπιέναι καὶ τὰ παραγγελλόμενα
ποιεῖν διὰ τὸ οὗτον καὶ αὐτοὺς αἵρεν τὰς ἄγρας.
τεταγμένοι δ' ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν οὐ λείψουσι τὰς
4 τάξεις διὰ τὸ καρτερεῖν δύνασθαι. ἐν φυγῇ δὲ
τῶν πολεμίων ὁρθῶς καὶ ἀσφαλῶς διώξονται τοὺς
ἐναντίους ἐν παντὶ χωρίῳ διὰ συνήθειαν. δυστυ-
χήσαντος δὲ οἰκείου στρατοπέδου ἐν χωρίοις ὑλώ-
δεσι καὶ ἀποκρήμνοις ἢ ἄλλως¹ χαλεποῖς οἷοί τ'
ἔσονται καὶ αὐτοὺς σώζεσθαι μη αἰσχρῶς καὶ
ἐτέρους σώζειν· ἢ γάρ συνήθεια τοῦ ἔργου παρέ-
5 ξει αὐτοῖς πλέον τι εἰδέναι. καὶ ἥδη τινὲς τῶν
ταιαύτων, πολλοῦ δχλου συμμάχων τρεφθέντος,
τῇ αὐτῷ εὐεξίᾳ καὶ θράσει διὰ δυσχωρίαν
ἀμαρτόντας τοὺς πολεμίους νενικηκότας ἀναμα-

¹ ἄλλως Stobaeus: ἄλλοι S. with the MSS.

what lies in front. On hearing the bleating in the night, the beasts run round the barrier, and finding no opening, jump over and are caught.

XII With the practical side of hunting I have finished. But the advantages that those who have been attracted by this pursuit will gain are many. For it makes the body healthy, improves the sight and hearing, and keeps men from growing old, and it affords the best training for war. In the first place, 2 when marching over rough roads under arms, they will not tire accustomed to carry arms for capturing wild beasts, they will bear up under their tasks. Again, they will be capable of sleeping on a hard bed and of guarding well the place assigned to them. In an attack¹ on the enemy they will be able to go 3 for him and at the same time to carry out the orders that are passed along, because they are used to do the same things on their own account when capturing the game. If their post is in the van they will not desert it, because they can endure. In the rout 4 of the enemy they will make straight for the foe without a slip over any kind of ground, through habit. If part of their own army has met with disaster in ground rendered difficult by woods and defiles or what not, they will manage to save themselves without loss of honour and to save others. For their familiarity with the business will give them knowledge that others lack. Indeed, it has happened 5 before now, when a great host of allies has been put to flight, that a little band of such men, through their fitness and confidence, has renewed the battle and routed the victorious enemy when he has

¹ The word *πρόσεδος* in this sense is a hunters' term.

χόμενοι ἐτρέψαντο· ἀεὶ γὰρ ἔστι τοῖς τὰ σώματα
 καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς εὐ ἔχουσιν ἐγγὺς εἶναι τοῦ εύτυ
 6 χῆσαι. εἰδότες δὲ καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι ἡμῶν, ὅτι
 ἐντεῦθεν εὔτύχουν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐπιμέλειαν
 τῶν ιέων ἐποιήσαντο σπαιζούτες γὰρ καρτῶν
 τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐνόμισαν δύμας τοὺς κυνηγέτας μὴ
 κωλύειν διὰ μηδενὸς¹ τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ φυομένων
 7 ἀγρεύειν προς δε τούτῳ μὴ νυκτερεύειν ἐντὸς
 πολλῶν σταδίων, ἵνα μὴ ἀφαιροῦντο τὰς θήρας
 αυτῶν οἱ ἔχοντες ταύτην τὴν τέχνην. ἐώρων γάρ,
 ὅτι τῶν νεωτέρων ἡ ἥδονὴ μονη αὕτη πλεῖστα
 ἀγαθὰ παρασκευάζει σωφρονάς τε γὰρ ποιεῖ καὶ
 8 δικαίους διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ παιδεύεσθαι τὰ
 τε ἄλλα γὰρ καὶ τὰ² τοῦ πολέμου διὰ τούτων³
 εὔτυχοῦντες ἡσθάνοντο καὶ⁴ τῶν ἄλλων εἴ τι
 βούλονται ἐπιτηδεύειν καλῶν οὐδεὶς ἀποστερεῖ
 ὥσπερ ἔτεραι κακαὶ ἥδοναι, ἃς οὐ χρὴ μαιθάνειν.
 ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων οὖν στρατιῶται τε ἀγαθοὶ καὶ
 9 στρατηγοὶ γίγνονται. ὃν γὰρ οἱ πονοι τὰ μὲν
 αἰσχρὰ καὶ υβριστικὰ ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ
 σωματος ἀφαιροῦνται, ἐπιθυμίαν δὲ ἀρετῆς ἐν-
 ηύξησαν, οὗτοι δὲ ἄριστοι οὐ γὰρ ἀν περιίδοιεν
 οὐτε τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀδικουμένην οὔτε τὴν
 χώραν πιστούσαν κακῶς.
 10 Λέγουσι δέ τινες, ὡς οὐ χρὴ ἐρᾶν κυνηγεσίων,
 ἵνα μὴ τῶν οἰκείων ἀμελῶσιν, οὐκ εἰδότες ὅτι οἱ
 τὰς πόλεις καὶ τοὺς φίλους εὐ ποιοῦντες πάντες

¹ διὰ μηδενὸς A διὰ τὸ μηδὲν B M · τὸ μηδὲν S

² τὰ τε ἄλλα γὰρ καὶ τὰ AB τὰ τε M S omits τὰ τε . . .
 ἡσθάνοντο with Schneider

³ τρυπαν AB τῶν τοιούτων S with M

⁴ καὶ των AB τῶν τε S with M

blundered owing to difficulties in the ground. For men who are sound in body and mind may always stand on the threshold of success. It was 6 because they knew that they owed their successes against the enemy to such qualities that our ancestors looked after the young men. For in spite of the scarcity of corn it was their custom from the earliest times not to prevent hunters from hunting over any growing crops; and, in addition, not to permit hunting at 7 night within a radius of many furlongs from the city, so that the masters of that art might not rob the young men of their game. In fact they saw that this is the only one among the pleasures of the younger men that produces a rich crop of blessings. For it makes sober and upright men of them, because they are trained in the school of truth¹ (and they perceived 8 that to these men they owed their success in war, as in other matters); and it does not keep them from any other honourable occupation they wish to follow, like other and evil pleasures that they ought not to learn. Of such men, therefore, are good soldiers and good generals made. For they 9 whose toils root out whatever is base and foward from mind and body and make desire for virtue to flourish in their place—they are the best, since they will not brook injustice to their own city nor injury to its soil.

Some say that it is not right to love hunting, 10 because it may lead to neglect of one's domestic affairs. They are not aware that all who benefit their cities and their friends are more attentive

¹ i.e. a training that really builds up the character. There is an implied contrast with the imposture of the education given by sophists.

XENOPHON

- 11 τῶν οἰκείων ἐπιμελεῖσθεντοί εἰσιν. εἴ οἱ οἱ φίλοι
 καὶ γρίται πρατκεῖ ιἷοις εἰς αἵνοις τῇ πατρίδῃ
 ληρησίνοις εἰναι εἰς τὰ μέγιστα, οἰδ' ἀν τὰ ιέναι
 πρόπτοντο· σὺν γάρ τῇ πόλει καὶ σώζεται καὶ
 ἀ-όλλιται τὰ οἰνοῖα ἵειστον· ὥστε πρὸς τοὺς
 αὐτῷς καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ιδειωτῶν οἱ τοιοῦτοι
 12 σώζονται. οὐλοὶ δὲ ἐ-ὸ φύσιον ἀλόγιστοι τῶν
 ταῦτα λεγόντων αἴρονται διὰ τὴν αὔτῶν κακίαν
 ἀ-ολέσθαι μᾶλλον ή ἐτέρων ἀρετῆς σώζεσθαι· αἱ
 γάρ οἵδοι αἱ πολλαὶ κακαὶ ὡς η-τώμειοι ή
 13 λέγειν η- πράττειν ἐ-αἴρονται τὰ χείρων. εἴτα ἐκ
 μὲν τῶν ματαίων λόγων ἔχθρας αναιροῦνται, ἐκ
 δὲ τῶν κακῶν ἕργων οόσους καὶ ζημίας καὶ θατά-
 τους καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ παιδῶν καὶ φίλων, ἀναι-
 σθήτως μὲν τῶν κακῶν ἔχοντες, τῶν δὲ οἵδοιων
 πλέον τῶν ἄλλων αἰσθαίσμειοι, οἵς τίς ἀν
 14 χρήσαιτο εἰς πολέμους σωτηρίαν; τούτων μέρτοι
 τῶν κακῶν οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐκ ἀφέξεται ἐρασθεῖς
 ὡς ἐγὼ ταραπώ· παλδευσίς γάρ καλὴ διδάσκει
 χρῆσθαι ιόμοις καὶ λέγειν περὶ τῶν δικαίων καὶ
 15 ἀκούειν. οἱ μὲν οὖν ταρασχόντες αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ
 ἀεί τι μοχθεῖν τε καὶ διδάσκεσθαι αὐτοῖς μὲν
 μαθήσεις καὶ μελέτας ἐπιπόγνους ἔχουσι, σωτηρίαν
 δὲ ταῖς ἑαυτῶν πόλεσιν οἱ δὲ μὴ θέλοντες διὰ
 τὸ ἐπίπονον διδάσκεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἐν οἵδοναις ἀκαί-
 16 ροις διάγεται, φύσει οὗτοι κάκιστοι. οὔτε γάρ
 νόμοις οὔτε λόγοις ἀγαθοῖς πείθονται οὐ γάρ
 εύρισκουσι διὰ τὸ μὴ πονεῖν, οἷον χρὴ τὸν ἀγαθὸν
 εἶναι· ὥστε οὔτε θεοσεβεῖς δύνανται εἶναι οὔτε
 σοφοί· τῷ δὲ ἀπαιδεύτῳ χρώμενοι πολλὰ ἐπι-
 17 τιμῶσι τοῖς πεπαιδευμένοις. διὰ μὲν οὖν τούτων

to their domestic affairs than other men. Therefore, if keen sportsmen fit themselves to be useful to their country in matters of vital moment, neither will they be remiss in their private affairs. for the state is necessarily concerned both in the safety and in the ruin of the individual's domestic fortunes. Consequently such men as these save the fortunes of every other individual as well as their own. But many of those who talk in this way, blinded by jealousy, choose to be ruined through their own evil rather than be saved by other men's virtue. For most pleasures are evil, and by yielding to these they are encouraged either to say or to do what is wrong. Then by their frivolous words they make enemies, and by their evil deeds bring diseases and losses and death on themselves, their children and their friends, being without perception of the evils, but more perceptive than others of the pleasures. Who would employ these to save a state? From these evils, however, everyone who loves that which I recommend will hold aloof, since a good education teaches a man to observe laws, to talk of righteousness and hear of it. Those, then, who have given themselves up to continual toil and learning hold for their own portion laborious lessons and exercises, but they hold safety for their cities. But if any decline to receive instruction because of the labour and prefer to live among untimely pleasures, they are by nature utterly evil. For they obey neither laws nor good words, for because they toil not, they do not discover what a good man ought to be, so that they cannot be pious or wise men, and being without education they constantly find fault with the educated. In

οἰδὲν ἀν καλῶν ἔχοις διὰ τὸν ἄμεινόντων
 ἀπαστι σὶ ὠφέλειοι τοῖς αἱθρίοις εἰρηνται
 18 ἄμεινοντοι οἵντοι βέλοντες τοῖς εἰρηνται
 ἀδέσκοται μεγάλη πανδεήγματι τᾶς γὰρ παλαιο-
 τέρων οἱ αἱθροί Λειρων. ἀν ἐτερι ισθι, τοῖς έπεις
 ἀρξάμειοι ἀπὸ τῶν κινησίοις πολλὰ καὶ καλά
 ἔμαθον· ἐξ ὧν ἔγάστο αἴτοι μεγάλη ἀρετή, δι'
 ήτι καὶ οὐν θαυμάζονται οἵστι μὲν ἔρωτι πάντες,
 19 εὐδηλοι, οἵτι δὲ διὰ τοῖς αὐτοῖς τιχεῖν αἴτιοι, οἱ
 πολλοὶ ἀφίστανται. τὸ μὲν γὰρ κατεργάσασθαι
 αὐτὴν ἀδηλοι, οἱ δὲ τύροι οἱ ἐν αὐτῇ εἰσίτες
 φαιεροί.

"Ισως μὲν οὖν εἰ ἡν τὸ σῶμα αὐτῆς δῆλον,
 20 ηττον ἀν ἡμέλουν οἱ αἱθρωοι ἀρετῆς εἰδότες
 οἵτι ὥστε πάντοις ἐκείνη ἴμφανής ἐστιν, οὕτω καὶ
 αὐτοὶ ὑπὲρ ἐλείνης ὄρωνται. οἵταν μὲν γάρ τις ὄραται
 ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐρωμένου, ἀπας ἐαυτοῦ ἐστι βελτίων καὶ
 οὔτε λέγει οὔτε τοιεὶ αἰσχρὰ οὐδὲ κακά, ἢ α μὴ
 21 ὑφθῆ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου. ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς οὐκ οἰόμειοι
 ἐτισκοπεῖσθαι πολλὰ κακὰ καὶ αἰσχρὰ εἰς αντίον
 ποιοῦσιν, οἵτι αὐτὴν ἐκεῖνοι οὐχ ὄρωσιν· η δὲ
 πανταχοῦ τάρεστι διὰ τὸ εἶναι ἀθάνατος καὶ
 τιμῆ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὴν ἀγαθούς, τοὺς δὲ κακοὺς
 22 ἀτιμάζει· εἰ οὖν εἰδεῖεν τοῦτο, οἵτι θεᾶται αὐτούς,
 ζει το ἀν ἐπὶ τοὺς πόιους καὶ τὰς παιδεύσεις, αἰς
 ἀλίσκεται μόλις, καὶ κατεργάζοντο ἀν αὐτήν.

XIII Θαυμάζω¹ δὲ τῶν σοφιστῶν καλουμένων

¹ S regards the whole of this chapter as a spurious addition

² The argument, such as it is, would be better with "the toilers," for "the better sort," and the next words would

these men's hands, therefore, nothing can prosper. All discoveries that have benefited mankind are due to the better sort.¹ Now the better sort are those who are willing to toil. And this has been proved by a great example. For among the ancients the 18 companions of Cheiron to whom I referred learnt many noble lessons in their youth, beginning with hunting, from these lessons there sprang in them great virtue, for which they are admired even to-day. That all desire Virtue is obvious, but because they must toil if they are to gain her, the many fall away. For the achievement of her is hidden in 19 obscurity, whereas the toils inseparable from her² are manifest.

It may be that, if her body were visible, men would be less careless of virtue, knowing that she sees them as clearly as they see her. For 20 when he is seen by his beloved every man rises above himself and shrinks from what is ugly and evil in word or deed, for fear of being seen by him. But in the presence of Virtue men do many evil and 21 ugly things, supposing that they are not regarded by her because they do not see her. Yet she is present everywhere because she is immortal, and she honours those who are good to her, but casts off the bad. Therefore, if men knew that she is watching 22 them, they would be impatient to undergo the toils and the discipline by which she is hardly to be captured, and would achieve her.

XIII I am surprised at the sophists, as they

then be "those who are willing to toil, therefore, are the better men."

¹ *virt.*, 'it,' i.e. the achievement, would be an improvement.

XENOPHON

καὶ εὐσεβεῖς τοὺς νέους τοὺς ποιοῦντας ἀ ἐγὼ
παραιγώ, οἰομένους ὑπὸ θεῶν του ὄρᾶσθαι ταῦτα.
οὗτοι δ' ἀν εἰεν καὶ τοκεῦσιν ἀγαθοὶ καὶ πάσῃ τῇ
έαυτῶν πόλει καὶ ἐν ἐκάστῳ τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ
18 φίλων. οὐ μόνον δὲ ὅσοι ἄνδρες κυνηγεσίων
ἡράσθησαν ἐγένοντο ἀγαθοί, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ γυναικες,
αἱς ἔδωκεν ἡ θεὸς ταῦτα,¹ Ἀταλάντη καὶ Πρόκρις
καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλη,

¹ "Αρτεμις, which follows ταῦτα in the MSS., was removed by Weiske.

to the gods and pious men, conscious that one or other of the gods is watching their deeds. These will be good to parents, good to the whole city, to every one of their friends and fellow-citizens. For all men who have loved hunting have been 18 good: and not men only, but those women also to whom the goddess¹ has given this blessing, Atalanta and Procris and others like them.

* Artemis.

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